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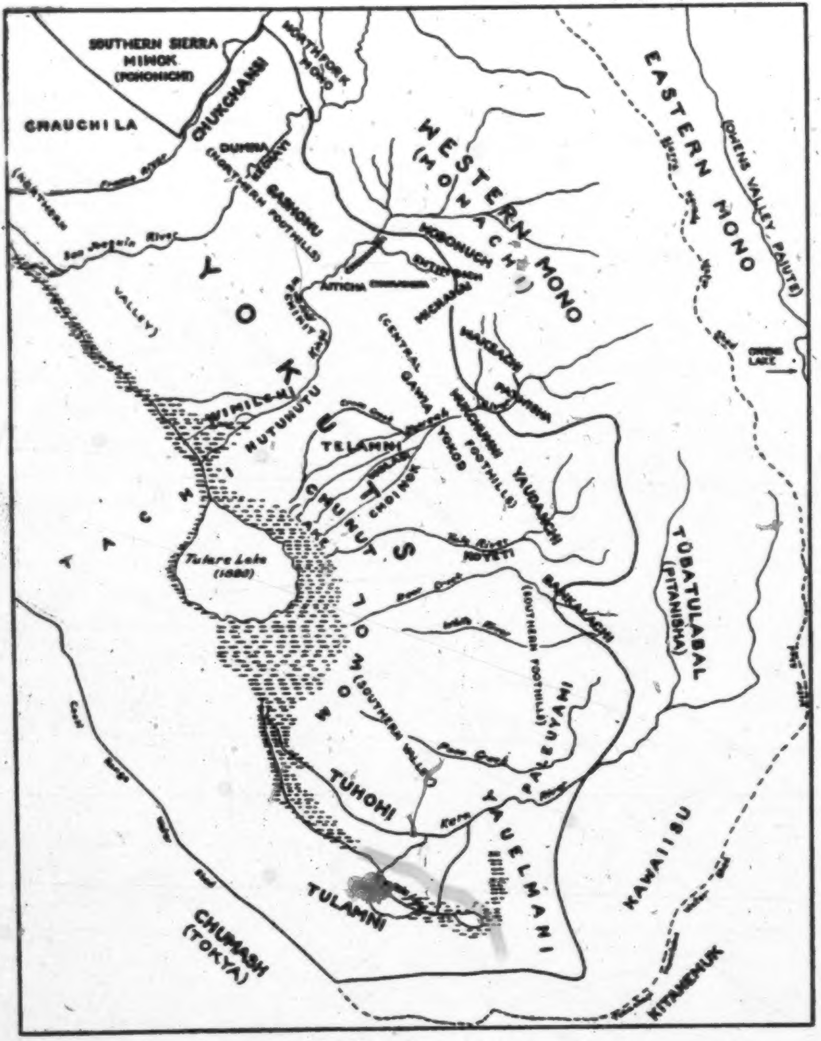
1: Gayton   E-5   (1925-1930)   1948   NS29 Yokuts NS29

[FACING P. 1]

Western Mono NS25
Tübatulabal NS22


SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK (POHONICHI)
CHAUCHILA
CHUKCHANSI
NORTHFORK MONO
DUMNA
(NORTHERN FOOTHILLS)
GASHOWU
(NORTHERN
San Joaquin River
Fresno River
VALLEY)
Y O K U T S
WIMILCHI
HUTUNUTU
Kings River
AITICHA
WESTERN MONO
(MONACHI)
HOPONUCH
MICHAHAI
(CENTRAL
GAWIA
YOKOD
TELAMNI
CHOINOK
CHUNUT
Tulare Lake (1880)
WUKCHAMNI
FOOTHILLS)
YAUDANCHI
Tule River
KOYETI
BANKALACHI
(SOUTHERN FOOTHILLS)
(SOUTHERN VALLEY)
Poso Creek
PALEUYAMI
TUHOHI
Kern River
YAUELMANI
TULAMNI
EASTERN MONO
(OWENS VALLEY PAIUTE)
OWENS LAKE
TÜBATULABAL (PITANISHA)
KAWAIISU
KITANEMUK
CHUMASH (TOKYA)
Coast Range
T A C H I

Map 1. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes (after Kroeber)

177 The ethnographer who works with a subjected people and attempts to recapture their vanishing culture must strive to set his findings definitely in time, to define for others the limits of the time-plane in which the customs described were known to have existed. Fortunately for those of us who have dealt with Yokuts culture the answer is relatively simple. The span of contact with Europeans and Americans, compared with that for some other regions of North America, has been brief, so brief that aboriginal life still flourished late in the nineteenth century. The majority of informants consulted in 1925 were born in native houses in native villages, and while outward destruction of their culture progressed rapidly during their lifetime, they thus not only had seen and experienced traditional Yokuts life themselves but had heard firsthand from their parents of the native ways then currently disappearing.

101 131 177 The civilization described herein, then, is that of the early youth of living informants and that of their parents and even grandparents, for often it was the grandparent who informed or instructed the young, for whom the old people's joy of reminiscence assumed a new and poignant significance in the face of their culture's palpable decadence. The years 1885 to 1860 cover the youth span of my older informants, the years 1860 to 1830 the mid-span of their parents' lives, and 1830 to 1800 the mid-span of their grandparents' lives. The bulk of cultural detail recalled was seen, experienced, or heard about in the years 1840 to 1890 approximately; in other words, it is Yokuts and Western Mono life of those years that we have recorded and described. Naturally, even in 1840 the picture was not uniform for the entire valley, for though the advent of the Spaniards on the coast in 1769 had not seriously disrupted native living in the San Joaquin Valley up to 1820, by 1840 the lake tribes nearest the Coast Range had begun to feel uneasiness and American penetration had started in earnest. By 1850 the stimulus of gold-seeking and land-seeking brought white settlers into the valley

101 to stay, and for the first time the foothill
peoples experienced the dismay previously
131 suffered by the lake tribes as the intruders
increased in numbers. Still, after the hostilities
177 of 1851 and certain dislocations resulting
from attempts to reservationize the
natives, a balance of peace between Indians and
whites was established and Yokuts life went on.
The villages in the foothills resumed their
habits and the displaced Indians from the
fertile strip between the lake and the foothills
straggled in for haven.

In the upper hills the Western Mono,[1] who
101 up to 1850 were entirely undisturbed by white
131 intrusion, were still not on easily friendly
terms with their Yokuts neighbors below them.
177 Even as late as 1870 a mutual antagonism was
manifested by both the Penutians and Shoshoneans,
648 although in differing degrees depending
on how far these natives were thrown together
because of pressure from a common enemy, the
American strangers. The Ghost Dance of 1870,
diffused into Yokuts territory by Mono proselytizers,
was the first social affair in which
these two groups mingled freely, and even then
mutual suspicion was not entirely dispelled.

The outward similarities of culture now to
177 be found between Yokuts and Western Mono are
largely a veneer assumed recently by the latter.
To analyze both cultures for the segregation of
items into culture-historical compartments is
a formidable and intricate task which I do not
propose to undertake here. Yet some indication
of the major features of the question may be
given in brief.

Clearly the ceremonies which adorned and characterized Yokuts culture -- the Jimsonweed Ritual, the Rattlesnake Ceremony, the Annual Mourning Ceremony with its components of Huhuna Dance and Shamans' Contest -- came to the Western Mono only as introduced performances. Probably few Wobonuch or Waksachi had witnessed them in Yokuts villages until, after 1870, they were free to go there as trusted visitors, or

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[1] Including those called Northfork by Gifford (see Bibliography) and spoken of collectively as Monachi herein.

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 184 The tribes living in the swampy territory around the Tulare Lake were the nucleus of a Yokuts culture which differed in many respects from that of the foothill and hill people. The divergence was not merely that due to a fundamentally different ecological background; it was manifest also in their dichotomous social organization and ceremonial practices. The lake tribes' cultural link was with the Yokuts of Kings River and northward, and with the Wowol to the south rather than toward the eastward hills.

115 The localities and intertribal relations of the lake tribes are presented by Kroeber,[23] and to his information we have little to add. Our Tachi informant (M.G.), long away from childhood scenes, was unable to formulate precise information on her native village region. The need for two interpreters to translate her conversation (Tachi to Wukchumni, Wukchumni to English) did not add clarity. The Chunut informant (J.A.) excellent in other respects, was unclear on local topography, whereas her knowledge of names and locations of distant tribes was remarkably accurate. The information obtained from these two women has been added to that of Kroeber and mapped in Local Map A (map 2).

578 609 According to M.G. there was no intercamp or intervillage quarrelling among the Tachi. But bitter feeling, resulting in occasional fights, existed between the Tachi and the valley tribes living north of Kings River, known collectively to the Tachi as Hoshima (ho´šima, northerners). The Nutunutu, as the nearest of these, were specific enemies of the Tachi. If these people attempted to come into Tachi territory for seeds or game, the Tachi "met them halfway and made them go back." The Chunut did not fight the Hoshima, M.G. said (but see Chunut informant's account, p. 9).

439 436 The Tachi were on friendly terms with all the groups bordering on the lake, but particularly with the Wowol who came as far north as the Wolasi in their balsas to trade. They tied the balsas to tules and slept on them at night. The Wowol wanted a grass-seed food and traded shell money in return. The Wowol acquired the shells from the To´kya (Salinan), who lived at ču´lamʌ,[24] near the ocean, and far west and

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[23] Handbook, 474-486.

[24] A Salinan site on Cholame Creek, an upper tributary of the Salinas River.

[P. 7C]

439 south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The
Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded
436 these to their inland neighbors. Usually the
buyer made them up into money: this was what
the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi
villages to trade with the Wowol, but no
farther south, as Yi´nɛl was the most southern
Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut
traded seed foods in exchange.

439 The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to
visit but not to trade (sic). They, the
574 Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi
mourning ceremonies at Tɛlwe´yɛt. The Gawia
did not ever visit so far west.

The large Tachi village called Tɛlweyɛt
361 was on the edge of the lake south of the
present town of Lemoore. An important chief
115 there was Luču´ši. The informant M.G. was born
there; after her marriage she moved "a little
east up the river [Kings?] to a village called
Gaiwɔ´šyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake
which extended as far as the Coast Range and
was roamed over by Tachi was called Utju´i.
(Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.)
There was a pond near Loston Hills.

The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a differ-
578 ent picture of Tachi relations, but her less
361 intimate view of the situation makes it seem
unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol,
and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi
and Nutunutu as allies against the combined
Chunut and Wowol. Tɛlweyɛt, a Tachi village,
was at Summit Lake. At Woko´n were a series of
camps among which the Tachi moved, especially
when one camp had been visited by death. J.A.
named Hono´tan (to stop suddenly) and Či´yi
(bones) as two important Nutunutu villages,
both near Kingston. Čiyi is undoubtedly
Kroeber's Chiau. A chief there was Oli´kɛs,
nicknamed Nai'nai´'i'ɛs (Squint-eye) because
he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very
large tribe, J.A. said.

● 101 The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and
Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their
131 land extended eastward almost to the present
site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the
Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A.
pronounces pi´sras, a pronunciation I believe
is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near
Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut
territory (čunu´tači pa'an). Near Tulare (city)
101 was a bottomless pond called mike´yɛt; things
which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut
484 frequently walked over to the ocean across the
131 mountains to the west, provided relations were

[P. 8]

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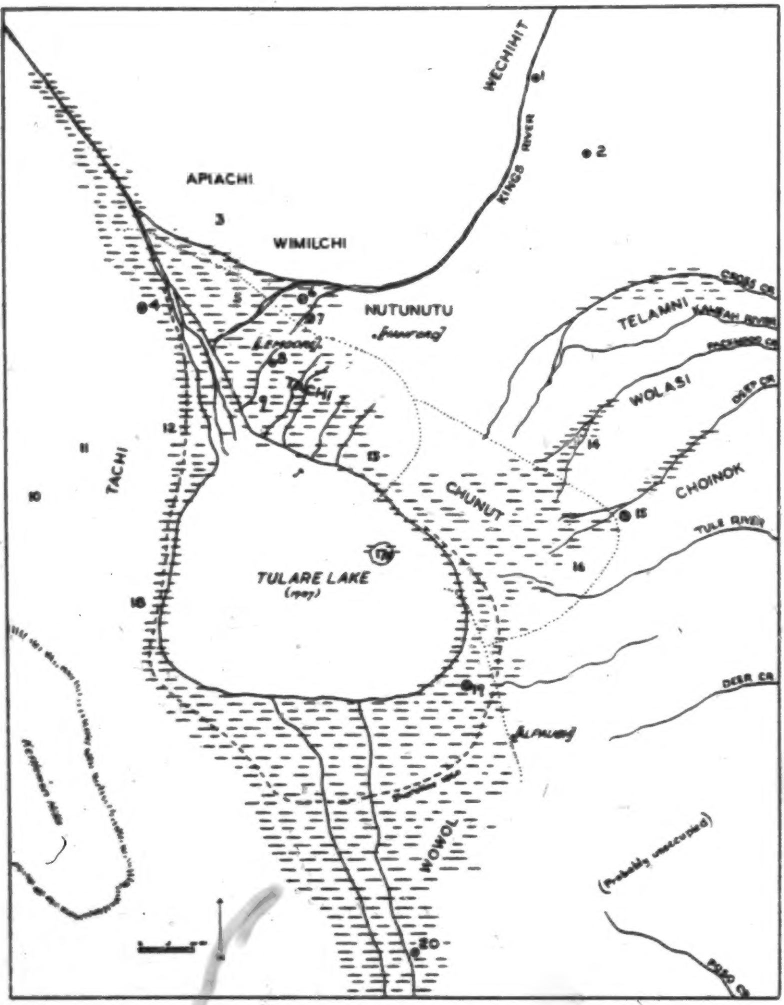
131
133


WECHIMIT
KINGS RIVER
APIACHI
WIMILCHI
NUTUNUTU
TELAMNI
CROSS CR.
KAWEAH RIVER
PACKWOOD CR.
WOLASI
DEEP CR.
CHOINOK
TULE RIVER
TACHI
CHUNUT
TULARE LAKE
(1907)
DEER CR.
WOWOL
(Probably unoccupied)
POSO CR.
1
2
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Map 2. Local Map A: Lake tribes

[P. 9a] Tubatulabal NS22

Y
● 101 friendly with the intervening Tachi (and, presumably, Salinan).
131

[484] Wowol territory was somewhat west and elsewhere south of the Chunut. One important village was called Yiwɔ´ni. An island in
Y
[361] Tulare Lake belonged to the Wowol; it was called witi'tsolo´wɨn. On it was a village which J.A. and her mother visited by means of
Y
[164] balsas. They had a relative there. On the island was a tremendous number of bleaching bones which J.A. says were those of humans who had died of smallpox.[25] The visit was probably made between 1860 and 1870; it was "before the big earthquake."

South of Bakersfield lived people who "had a lake in the middle of their mountain. It dried in the summer." (This may be Castac Lake, possibly a small lake near present Tehachapi.) This tribe was called tipe´kɨl yoko´č (red clay people) "because they lived in houses plastered with red clay, with tule roofs which were covered with mud." The people who live there now are called Tejon (whether this was Fort Tejon or Tejon Ranch some distance to the east, J.A. could not determine; probably the former, which is near Castac Lake).

Y
[439] The Tokya (Chumash and Salinan) lived "on the coast"; the Salinan of Chulame were called Tokya also. Various types of shell money were got from them. J.A. had not heard of Mutulu (a coast Indian raider mentioned by Wobonuch informants) or other individuals from the coast, and believed that the valley people went out to do their trading rather than that coast people came in. She, too, says that the bought shells were worked into money by the Yokuts purchasers.

At Ventura lived the Ititu´wɨt, but J.A. does not know whether this was the Yokuts name for these people, or what they called themselves.

T
[141] The Kawe´sa (Kawaiisu) lived east of Tejon, toward the hills "and talked something like the Monachi." They were noted for their large bows and arrows.

T
101
131 The Ričiki´tu (Pitanisha) lived at Whiskey Flat "over back of Kern River." At another time J.A. said Ričikitu was "the Mexican name for the Pitani´sa who lived at Pita´nɨn, where there was a deep little river."

Y

Localities

103
131 The following sites are located on Local Map A (map 2). Places known to be villages are marked with a dot and circle.

1. mu´sahau: a Wechihit village
2. wewa´yo: a Wechihit village
3. wo´hui

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[25] Powers mentions a "plague" which took many lives in the Fresno River region a few years before his visit (Tribes of California, 380).

[P. 55 C] Wukchumni

133 dicularly up, until its spiral peaks are capped with the eternal snows that shine with dazzling brightness from the rays of the rising sun. Yonder, far in the plain, rise tall spiral cones of long, slim, rocks, whose bristling tops look like piles of spears stacked by giants of another age... Here on the green plain, from which the Buttes rise can be seen here and there the broad, low-spreading branches of the evergreen oaks. The stillness of nature around is broken only by the thunder of the waters of the Francis River as they come through the rocky gorges of the mountain passes: but, here at our feet, their white foam has died away, and in this crystal lake, where fish of a thousand species sport, they seem to stop and rest before they hurry on to their destination. Now let us turn and look westward. -- The oaks, in their majesty, thickly cover the plain for miles around, and stretch away to the shore of the Tulare Lake. Amongst them and through high green grass, meander the Four Creeks. To the right, at the distance of 25 miles, runs the belt of timber, marking the course of King's River to the lake. On the left is seen at the distance of twenty miles, the broad body of timber that marks the course of Tule river. The body of land, thus bounded, is the best in the valley -- well timbered and watered, and covered with the finest grass in California. Stretching beyond this to the west lie the placid blue waters of the Tulare lake, whose ripples wash the foot of the low hills of the Coast range -- the blue tops of which set a boundary to the scene.

Trade

● 101 131 The limits of Wukchumni land are indefinite, for all so-called boundaries were trespassed by hunting and seed-gathering groups on all sides, yet limits were recognized at certain points by common consent. On the north Wukchumni territory touched Waksachi in Antelope Valley, which was occupied by Wukchumni families. On the east, up the Kaweah River at the modern hamlet of Three Rivers, a mixed Wukchumni-Patwisha village marked the beginnings of Patwisha holdings. On the south the Wukchumni roamed as far as Yokol, the Yokod nuclear village (the present railway station of Yokohl), and on the west as far as Woodlake where Gawia land began. The small lake there was regarded as joint property of Wukchumni, Gawia, and Yokod for fishing, waterfowl-hunting, and shellfish-gathering. Telamni, Choinuk, and Wolasi sometimes came there too.

The Gawia, M.L. said, lived along the river west of the Wukchumni and had special campsites at springs near Haditao and Sokodao,

[P. 56a] Wukchumni;
Western Mono NS25

Y
●101 although their main village was Yeitao (Local
Map B, nos. 5, 2, and 1). They had another
131 village near the modern hamlet of Klink. They
would come onto Wukchumni land to gather
berries and redbud. There is evidence from
historic accounts that the Gawia were once a
powerful tribe. The Yokod came no farther
Y north than Lindcove.

438 The Waksachi lived in Eshom Valley and
claimed territory as far west as Aukland,
according to M.L. They also came down to the
edge of the plains in Wukchumni territory to
gather seeds and trade (see Waksachi account,
Pt. II). On the other hand, the Wukchumni went
up to Eshom Valley for the specially fine
acorns of the black oak.

Y
To the east the Wukchumni went into Patwisha territory, above Three Rivers, to snare
[223 wild pigeons. They took tule house mats with
439] them to make shelters, then sold them to the
Patwisha, who lacked tule.

Y
The Wukchumni went onto Chunut land to the
[222] southwest, where magnificent groves of oak
abounded, to get acorns when there was a shortage in their own area. No payments were made
for these friendly forays among any of the
above-mentioned tribes.

Y
439 The Tachi from the lake bought burden
baskets, coiled baskets, and pottery vessels
437 from the Wukchumni, for all their containers
were made of twined tule in aboriginal times
(according to M.L. and M.G.). They in turn
made the finest of tule mats which they sold to
the Wukchumni and others of the foothills. The
Tachi and others of the lake tribes were the
manufacturers of shell money; they bought the
raw materials, unworked shells, from the coast
tribes. Thus the movement of money was eastward, of commodities westward.

Y
Very little that is definite can be
M learned of the Patwisha, the Western Mono tribe
177 to the east of the Wukchumni. The informant
[191] J.P. was half Patwisha in his maternal line.
He was born and raised at Hotnunyu, a village
where people of Yokuts and Western Mono blood
M mixed and were bilingual in speech. The Pat-
[105] wisha had the Bear Dance, Shamans' Contest, a
village organization with chiefs and winatums,
and entered into all ceremonial affairs with
the Yokuts tribes, as did the Waksachi. The
general impression from J.P. and other informants was that the Patwisha were a small
group of Western Mono on the way to complete
absorption by their more numerous and culturally richer Yokuts neighbors and that they disappeared entirely during the flux and pressure
Y of white encroachment.

439 The Eastern Mono, called Mona ̆či by the
Wukchumni, were well known to them as traders.
648 In the late summer, when the mountain passes
were open, they came over bringing sinew-backed
bows, moccasins, rock salt, pine nuts (wa´tat),
jerked deer meat, and pine wood "hot-rock
lifters," to sell. They wanted money and fine

439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
current of hostility between the Monachi and
648 the Yokuts and these traders were often ac-
companied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assur-
ance of cordial reception. They never went
farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and
four days to a week would be the extent of
their stay. Women as well as men came on these
trading trips, and occasionally one would stay
the winter, acquire a man if she could, but re-
turn to the eastern side of the mountains the
following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foot-
hill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada
to trade. After the intrusion of white set-
tlers the eastern side of the mountains was
used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white
persecution.

● 101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the
Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were
merely called "easterners" or "uplanders"
(nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit,
Choinimni, and others on Kings River were
called "northerners" (hoisa´ʼima). All tribes
south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and
southward, were called "southerners" (humtɩ´nɩn).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything com-
parable to a census for any Wukchumni village,
as only a remnant population was left even in
the childhood of my informants. Certain fami-
lies and persons are well remembered and re-
peatedly referred to by all informants. Such
data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may
serve as an example of all such seed-gathering
expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settle-
ments: Diapnuša, Gutsnumi, and Hoganu, in
order of their respective importance (Local
Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). . The most promi-
nent chief about 1870-1890 was Muṭo´ñi,[140] who had
622 headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage
at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter
Wa´ohet were born and raised. One of the
winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father.
When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people
thought of going to gather seeds. This would
be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
221 held. The chief decided when to move; he would
166 call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at
exactly the same time, nor did they have to
wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[186
837] [139] While M.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced matsu´ñi by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Newman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Newman, 1, 89).

621 being related." They thought that M.L.'s segregations of related animals (see below) had
616 no social or functional basis. And, finally, when J.P. was given a description of the moiety system in the Lake tribes, e.g., Tachi, he said he "had heard of it but nobody up here did it."

Moiety division of the Yaudanchi was clearly denied by M.S. and S.G.

101 To turn to the positive information, the terms tokɩlyuwɩč and nutuwɩč were known to both
619 M.L. and J.B., and both agreed on the meanings which the words held for the Wukchumni.[233] Tokelyuwich means westward and, by topographical analogy, lowlandward or downstream; Nutuwich means eastward or, topographically, upland, mountainward, or upstream. The Wukchumni pronunciation is ṭokɩlyu´wɩč. The two words do not literally mean upstream and downstream, the terms for which are do´mto i´dɩkao and da´ṭu idɩkao, respectively.

M.L. classified tribes in these terms, as Tokelyuwich or westward: Tachi, Wodaši (Wolasi), Tedumni (Telamni), Choinok, Chunut, Gawia, and Yokod; as Nutuwich or eastward: Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni, and Wobonuch. J.B. gave a comparable grouping but included Gawia and Yokod with the easterners, thus, Tokelyuwich: Tachi, Wolasi, Telamni, Choinok, Nutunutu, Chunut; Nutuwich: Gawia, Yokod, Wukchumni, Waksachi, Patwisha, Choinimni.

619 The Wukchumni put this tribal grouping into effect only at the Annual Mourning Cere-
582 mony. Even then the grouping was not followed
[769] when playing games. It in no way affected marriage: persons with the same totemic animal (poša) were free to marry as long as the blood kinship was not known to be closer than that of third cousins. Cross-cousin marriage was not countenanced, and indeed the question was unlikely to arise as all first cousins were regarded as of the same closeness as siblings and were called by sibling terms.

616 Neither did the moiety affect the arrangement for reciprocal washing during the mourning
619 ceremony. The washing was reciprocal primarily between families having the same totemic animal
769 (poša), secondarily between tribes. Thus the reciprocity which was traditional for the Wukchumni was with the Waksachi (both "Nutuwich" tribes), but if for some reason the proper family were not available another one of the same totem but of another tribe would be chosen, not another Waksachi family of different totem. (For further details see "Annual Mourning Ceremony.")

616 The Wukchumni concept of moiety, then, is applicable only to tribes, and is manifest only
619 at the Annual Mourning Ceremony where the visiting people are grouped by tribe as Tokelyuwich or Nutuwich. Their camping places are so

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[233] It should be mentioned that M.L. and J.B. were far removed from one another, J.B. having moved to Dunlap long ago, so they did not influence each other's opinions.

Choinimni

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 The Choinimni occupied land along Mill Creek from the junction of its north and south 131 forks to its union with Kings River (see Local Map D). Above them on Mill Creek were the Entimbich, a mixed Yokuts and Mono tribe, and the Michahai, a basically Yokuts tribe who shared Squaw Valley with the Chukaimina Yokuts. From Sycamore Creek on Kings River, where Apa´wɨč was the Wobonuch frontier village, the Choinimni held both sides of Kings River as far west as Hughes Creek and perhaps a little beyond, where the Toihicha took up the north side of the river. On the south bank the Choinimni territory continued to Kipai´yu, their last village, which was fairly close to Centerville; there Aiticha land began on the south side and, on the opposite side, now somewhat west and south, were the Wechihit. This area is somewhat larger than that indicated on Kroeber's map.[1] The data for Mill Creek, I think, are wholly trustworthy: that is the locality P.D.W. knew best. His eastward extension to Sycamore Creek fits with Jeff Mayfield's statements for about 1850-1860.[2] On the west, Centerville as the eastward limit of Aiticha territory was a point on which P.D.W. was insistent; his location of Kipaiyu, however, may be incorrect, Kroeber's location being perhaps more exact. This still leaves it possible for the Choinimni to have dominated the river on the south side for some distance, that is, to about Centerville.

648 Prior to 1860 the social relations be-
177 tween the Yokuts and Western Mono were not so casually friendly, much less so intimate, as they have been in recent years since the two groups were forced into mutual contact by white domination of their country. In the 1850's
434 the Choinimni carried on trade, through a few individuals who seem to have been professional

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[1] Handbook, pl. 47.

[2] Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 15.

[P. 1459] Choinimni

574 from the spring floods which would carry them 502 over impeding sand bars. About ten days were 484 required for the trip. Accompanying hunters sometimes traveled afoot all day and joined the group on the barges wherever they were moored for the night. While at the lake, the foothill [22 people engaged in fishing, bird snaring, rabbit 438] drives, and so on, and doubtless traded their native products for local ones.[4]

P.D.W. had heard of but one "war," in 726 which "all the Indians gathered at a flat near Centerville and then ran up back of Pine Ridge." No more coherent statement could be got: it suggests an occurrence under white pressure, perhaps in connection with the Ghost Dance.[5]

101 In referring to neighboring people, directional terms were generally applied when one did not wish to make reference to a specific tribe. Thus the Gashowu, Kechayi, Dumna to the north were called hošə´m. The Michahai, Chukaimina, and even Wukchumni were homti´nɨn, southerners. The term wa´kli'u was applied to the Toihicha and Wechihit on the west. The Wobonuch and Entimbich to the east were spoken of as nɔt. Collectively all Western Mono groups were referred to as nuta´wi or nutsa´wi (easterners, uplanders), just as were other mountaineers to the south, Tübatulabal (Pitanisha) by Paleuyami, Koyeti, etc.

Directions were spoken of spontaneously 823 by P.D.W. and given unhesitatingly in the following order: hošo´mo (north); homtinɨn (south); wakli'u (west, possibly downstream); nɔt (east, mountainwards); ṭi´pɨn (up); atɨ´l (down).

Localities

131 Local Map D shows the following Choinimni and Wobonuch sites.

361

103 Choinimni sites:

1. kipai´yu: west terminus of Choinimni territory; Centerville
2. hoha´ltao: valley east of Piedra
3. hɨ'ha´šyu: cemetery for no. 4
4. ṭihe´ču: meaning "fish going up"; a fishing camp
5. wohoi´nu: campsite
6. kuluša´o: an old large village
7. waša´mao: a village
8. yegwo´nyu: a village
9. lolo´nču: a village
10. mučeto´o: a camp
11. wiše´laɔ: west terminus of Entimbich territory where they came for fish
12. wo'a´ltyu: northeastern terminus of Michahai territory
13. apa´wɨč: Trimmer Springs; west terminus of Wobonuch territory called by them wasa´mu

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[4] Ibid., 29, 30.

[5] Perhaps earlier, 1851, at the time of the Mariposa Battalion's forays.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 153 9] DUMNA

DUMNA

TRIBES AND LOCALITIES

101 131 The informant B.W.'s notions of tribal locations were definite as to direction but hazy and conflicting with other information on specific locus. He located neighboring tribes as follows.

The center of Tu´mna (Dumna) territory was at Millerton where their largest village (A´tbu) was located. B.W. gives the word hoʼ as its name, and tciʼ as the Gashowu name: I interpret this not as a specific name but as the word for village, or possibly even tribe. The chiefs at the Millerton rancheria were To´mkɨt [622] (Tom Wilson, B.W.'s father), next We´sča, then Čokɨ´t. B.W. thinks there were as many as ten chiefs after his father, who died in B.W.'s boyhood.

Below the Dumna on the San Joaquin, and occupying both sides of the river, were the Hoi´yima (Hoyima), and beyond them the Tuko´yo (possibly Tokia, the Salinan or Chumash). Up the river from the Dumna were the Keče´yu (Kechayi). East of them, about a half-mile south of the San Joaquin River, were the Puški´ša (Posgisa), a Western Mono tribe. North of the Posgisa, on the North Fork of the San Joaquin were the Yaya´či (Yayanchi). Two contemporary chiefs there, in B.W.'s youth, were Ču´iču´i (Joijoi)[27] and Pine´wači. The Chukchansi were on Fresno River at Coarse Gold; two of their important chiefs were Kalo´masmɨn and Salo´knɨč. At the present town of Chowchilla were the Wu´tsču. And on the Fresno River at Madera [illegible] the Čauši´la (Chauchila) whose head man was Opa´mči. The Gaso´wu (Gashowu) were on the north side of Kings River, north of Centerville.

An additional comment was that "at Auberry the people were mixed 'Digger' [Yokuts] and Monachi [Mono]." Of people at Fresno Flat and Sycamore, B.W. could recall nothing. Any kind of people were collectively yoko´č, an individual man, no´no.

Localities

103 361 A long list of place names was given but only a few could be definitely located; consequently they have not been mapped.

1. hoʼ: a Dumna village [a generic term, not a name ?]
2. tciʼ: a Gashowu village [a generic term, not a name ?]
3. tewa´nčo: old village site 1/2 mile west from B.W.'s house at Friant
4. čai´čiyu: old village site about 1 mile east from B.W.'s house

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[27] The introducer of the Ghost Dance (Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870).

[P. 153 b] Dumna

DUMNA

403 5. huku´ktuktu: 1/2 mile south of no.
6. ka´oso: village at Firebaugh where
361 "everyone" used to go for salmon fishing
7. če´yao: salmon camp above no. 6
8. če´šao: salmon camp above no. 7
9. a´tbu: main Dumna village at Millerton

The following were not located: 10, čo´ʼomtɨlao; 11, ya´pɨkʼnao; 12, yɨmšu; 13, ho´suniu; 14, če·pnao; 15, tɨne´lao; 16, kɔčo´yu; 17, tiʼče´niu; 18, hogo´nɨlao; 19, hutu´nɨlao; 20, ko´wačko´čo; 21, taka´tipao; 22, te·´ninao; 23, čamxɨʼnšiu; 24, paxɨ´kčiu; 25, šɔ´koiyu; 26, woto´tiu; 27, co´hono·no; 28, ča´tɨlao; 29, hotoi´yiu; 30, tubaudibao; 31, tiše´niu [no. 17?]; 32, nepɨnwa´šu; 33, šišɨ´iu [Table Mountain?].

The Northern Foothill Region in 1851

114 648 The tribes at the eastern edge of the northern San Joaquin Valley, along the San Joaquin and Fresno rivers where they debouch from the foothills, were dislocated drastically by the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. The formation of this battalion to subdue the Indians of the San Joaquin Valley foothills climaxed increasing hostilities between the native owners and encroaching white settlers. Lafayette H. Bunnell, a physician accompanying the group which first entered the Yosemite Valley, included in his interesting and sympathetic book on the Yosemite and Indian War of 1851 some references to the Northern Foothill Yokuts.

•101 114 648 The Chowchilla were believed to be the ringleaders in resisting white domination, and their name at that time was used to cover native groups which lived on the Fresno and San Joaquin rivers, as a dialectic difference was recognized between their speech and that of the tribes to the south on the Kings and Kaweah rivers, who were called collectively Kaweah.[28] (Or so do I interpret Bunnell's usage of the names "Chowchilla" and "Kaweah.")

648 The outstanding figure in the conflict was one José Rey, a "Chowchilla" chief whose assistant was Tomkɨt, the father of our Dumna informant, B.W.[29] After José Rey's death, Tomkɨt and Frederico went down to the Kings River people for help; there the local chiefs advised them to meet the terms of the white soldiers.[30]

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[28] Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite.

[29] B.W. represented himself as Dumna (Tumna) to me, as "Chowchilla" to Dr. Stanley Newman. As I have no reason to doubt his statements and have no contradictions from his Kechayi step-relative, I have kept his material under the Dumna label.

[30] Bunnell, 140-141.

619
222 together to gather acorns, just as the Wukchumni (J.B.) mentioned for the seed-gathering camps in the Central Foothill region.

648
439 In spite of the somewhat inimical relations with the Monachi, or Eastern Mono, a lively trade was carried on between Yokuts and Mono to exchange the products, natural and manufactured, of the valley and mountain regions. In this trade the Western Mono (Yayanchi, Posgisa, etc.) were the middlemen. The Monachi came over as far as Auberry, bringing rabbitskin blankets (ye´gɨs), moccasins, rock salt (obo´ko), red and blue paint, and pine nuts. In exchange they received acorns, willow-bark baskets, and bead money (šil:´mki). The bead money the middlemen had received in payment from the foothill Yokuts, who, in turn, got it from the valley Yokuts in exchange for deer meat, oak wood (ti´hɨn), and stone mortars and pestles, all of which were lacking in the lower lake and barren northern valley region.

The expeditions for trade were made by the Monachi: E.M. said "nobody from this side ever went over there." It is possible that the general direction of trade expeditions was westward -- Eastern to Western Mono, Western Mono to foothill Yokuts, foothill Yokuts to valley Yokuts,[49] and valley Yokuts to the Chumash and Salinan on the coast.

Localities

●101
103
361 Few sites or localities could be named by E.M.; these have not been mapped.

aho´lu'i: a Kechayi village on the San Joaquin River not far from Auberry
owo´mniu: a Posgisa [?] village at the edge of Table Mountain
šu´mhun: a village at the junction of Fine Gold Creek and the San Joaquin River
šanwo´ganiu: Dumna village on the San Joaquin River [the Millerton Court House stood on the spot][50]
taka´tipao: Kechayi territory or pa´'an in general
ačo´po: unlocated
kumku´mɨč: "humming bird place"; not located, a saloon there where Hai'ai'ɨč: got liquor
koko´hɨp: Sycamore

STRUCTURES

342 **Dwellings**.--The houses of the Kechayi were of the hemispherical thatched type. The floor (wa´'ai) was circular, about 10 feet in diameter, and excavated for about 18 inches.

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[49] See the Choinimni trips to the Tachi in Latta, Uncle Jeff's Story, 29 ff.

[50] Although E.M. calls the village Šanwo´ganyu, the word is actually Penutianized "San Joaquin" and is applied to the river also.

[P. 175a] Kechayi : Chuckchansi

796 carried a long painted cane so people would recognize him.[77]

668 With great effort, particularly in transporting infants and goods across the San Joaquin River, the Kechayi and others journeyed toward Table Mountain, to a site called Šu´kši, a small hill opposite Auberry where there was a spring (the place called Soganiu by Wobonuch informants). This was about May, 1872. Many people were there: there was much confusion in camping and in finding provisions.[78] Chiefs and winatums urged people not to quarrel or they would "die" and would not meet "the father."

The dancing took place in the evening, from about sundown to midnight, with intervals of rest. Sleeping, morning bathing, and daytime behavior were normal. Meat was not tabu.

[778] The dancers circled clockwise to the accompaniment of singing and elderwood clapper. In the center was a pole (wo´kon) on top of

[Text continues top of P. 175b, --- Analyst]

CHUCKCHANSI

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 131 648 Concerning the range of Chukchansi territory, Kroeber states that they held Coarse Gold Creek and the head of Cottonwood Creek.[79] Their northern boundary, which marked the end of Yokuts and beginning of Miwok tribal holdings, was at the Fresno River. But their friendliness and intermarriage with Miwok made the boundary a lax one, with each tribe claiming settlements on both sides of the river. Aplau and Yiwisniu were Chukchansi settlements, and they also held Hapasau near Fresno Flats as well as Chukchanau up on Fresno River. Miss Thrall lists the following sites named by her informants N.W., J.R., and C.D.

101 131 103

lulniu: Oakhurst, an old village site, the western boundary of the Chukchansi

gratniu: Picayune (N.W.), an old village site with only one sweat house

kat'an•u: Picayune (J.R.)

dalinao: a settlement where many Chukchansi had lived

dočimilpao: a settlement

baonaiu: a settlement

[Text continues middle P. 175b]

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[649] [77] Feelings on the west slope of the Sierra Nevada were hostile to the Paiute and Eastern Mono at that time.

[78] E.M. claimed dog meat was eaten there for the first time under pressure of starvation (see Gayton, Ghost Dance of 1870, 72); again her statement may have been a "prestige denial."

[79] Handbook, 481-482. Power's statement (Tribes of California, 370) that the Chukchansi were on the San Joaquin River between Whiskey Creek and Millerton does not agree with recent findings. Of course, it is quite possible that the Chukchansi have suffered some displacement and entirely probable that they had salmon-fishing privileges along the San Joaquin. -- A.H.G.

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi,

796 which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This
668 basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had
[778] no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha´lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 The dancers all used moiety paint patterns
616] on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

● 101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a captain was there
103 č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain
t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the
131 foot of the hills, on the Fresno River
kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)
nipnoaši: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold, Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond
131 that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come
[152 straight home. They got home, here, this is their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong
186] feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

People would move around, perhaps two or
166 three miles for the summer and come back for
222 the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

TERRITORY AND INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

Localities

Y M 101 131 The locations of tribes known to B.O. follow. His renderings are given in brackets when they differ from the forms established by Kroeber.

Nutunutu: close to Kingston
Wechihit [we´čihət]: close to Centerville
Kocheyali (Aiticha) [kuče´li]: northeast of Wechihit
Gashowu [ka´šuwi·ša]: south of the San Joaquin River
Choinimni [čoinü´mni]: mouth of Mill Creek
Chukaimina: Squaw Valley
Michahai: between Choinimni and Chukaimina
Entimbich [a´ntɨmpɨč]: Dunlap
Wobonuch [wu´punuč]: east of Dunlap

Three terms which B.O. claimed were names of tribes but which have an ending comparable to the Yokuts pa'an (see below) are:

a´pusowi·'ɨtunü´'üm: Toll House
huro´gɨčnü´'üm: southeast of last
yui´ninü´'üm: south of last

Y M 773 103 131 Each tribe had a theoretical ancestral home, consisting of one or more villages, referred to as pa'an. "When Eagle made the world he named every hill and put people on those spots. They were the first birds and animals; later he made one pair [of humans] for each place." Those places S.O. could name were:

Chukaimina: to'o´ču
Michahai: pa´lnao (Rock Hill, unlocated by recorder)
Wukchumni: gutsnu´mi; dai'apnu´ša
Telamni: "at Visalia" (informant didn't know name of their pa'an)
Gawia: češɨ´yu (hill near Cutler, Stokes Mountain)
Waksachi: tusa´o; čita´tu
Entimbich: kečai´yu (Dunlap)
Wobonuch: kada´winao; sitɨ´minao (old sites)
Wobonuch: koiwa´nyu (Samson Flat, new site)

Y M 101 Camping sites, even when definitely within tribal boundaries, were not considered as pa'an.

Y
M
101 Neither was there any sense of one family or
lineage, more than another in the same tribe,
owning, or originating in, the tribal pa'an.

Y A moiety term (Yayanchi) given by Kroeber[155]
M was unfamiliar to B.O., who ventured that it
192 "maybe meant toward the north, some people
WG living farther north."

Y The Waksachi had two permanent village
361 sites, Čita'tu in Eshom Valley and Atitrao on
the edge of the plains at Gaines Flat. The
221 former had about twenty-five houses; the latter
was nominally the terminus of the summer seed-gathering
M trip down to the valley. The route
Y followed was always the same -- down by Dry
[487] Creek, across Rucker, Adams, and Gaines flats.
The Waksachi claimed this area and all sites in
it listed below, although there were no permanent
villages or dwellings situated in it
within the memory of informants. This annual
move to the plains brought the Waksachi into
contact with Gawia and Wukchumni whose territory
began at Ničina'o (Karlburn Point?). Only
if there was a severe winter or a poor acorn
crop in their Eshom Valley center, did the Waksachi
remain at Gaines Flat through the winter.
The Waksachi made use of the country on the
upper reaches of Lime Kiln Creek, which eventually
flows into Wukchumni territory. The area
which lay between this and Patwisha holdings at
Three Rivers, on the Kaweah River, was unoccupied
and served as hunting and foraging grounds
for Waksachi, Wukchumni, and Patwisha. The
joint claim was wholly amicable, according to
all information. The Waksachi went southeast
from Eshom Valley to Cactus Mountain for yucca,
but not beyond. And they went across Redwood
Mountain to Old Baldy Ridge for piñon nuts.
This last ridge they never crossed, although no
people lived above them on the west slope of
M the Sierra.

Y The people of Tušao village -- mixed Micha-
[887] hai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi -- often joined
with those of Čitatu. Only very old people
stayed at Tušao all the year round. The others
went to Čitatu every summer for acorns. In the
spring they went down toward Stokes Flat for
fishing: they had a camp there named Tulna'o
(Map 3; Local Map E, no. 34) and another fishing
M site near by called O'polo'o (meaning "in
Y the sun," Local Map E, no. 35). Stokes Moun-
[484] tain was called Mučati'' (Local Map E, no. 36).
When traveling to the fish camp, they left

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[155] Ibid., 588.

CHAPTER 32.

THE YOKUTS: GEOGRAPHY.

000 Tribal organization, 474; habitat, 475; classification, 477; tribes of the Buena Vista group of the foothill division, 478; of the Poso Creek group, 479; of the Tule-Kaweah group, 479; of the Kings River group, 480; of the northern foothill group, 481; of the southern group of the valley division, 482; of the northern valley group, 484; speech and topography, 486; designations of the stock, 488; Yokuts and other California population, 488.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION.

101 619 The Yokuts are unique among the California natives in one respect. They are divided into true tribes. Each has a name, a dialect, and a territory. The first of these traits, the group name, is wanting in other Californians, who normally are able to designate themselves only by the appellation of the place they inhabit. The second feature, dialectic separateness, of course is an old story for California, but elsewhere in the State each idiom is usually common to a considerable number of tribelets or "village communities." Only in the third trait, their political independence and their ownership of a tract of land, are the ordinary Californian village communities and the Yokuts tribes similar.

101 197 Forty of these tribes are sufficiently known to be locatable. In the northern part of the Yokuts areas the map is, however, blank except for a few names of groups of uncertain situation and doubtful affinities. The total number of tribes may therefore have reached 50. Such an array of dialects is unparalleled, and gives to the Yokuts alone nearly one-third of all the different forms of speech talked in the State. The differences of language from tribe to tribe were often rather limited; but they are marked enough to be readily perceptible to the interested Caucasian observer. Since the total length of the Yokuts area does not much exceed 250 miles and the breadth nowhere attains to 100, the individual geographical range of these little languages was exceedingly narrow. Their territory averaged perhaps 300 square miles—say a half day's foot journey in each direction from the center.

101 Some of the tribes occupied a single spot with sufficient permanence to become identified with it: thus the Wowol on Atwells Island in Tulare Lake, the Gawia and Yokod on opposite sides of Kaweah River where this leaves the hills, the Choinimni at the junction of

[pp. 1-473 not processed]

Mill Creek and Kings River. Such groups, save for their distinctive 101
speech, would be indistinguishable from the village communities of their neighbors if the purely local designations of the latter were replaced by appellations for the people themselves. Still fainter is the line of demarcation when the Choinimni, for instance, are called, as occasionally happens, Tishechuchi after their town Tishechu; but such terms are rare among the Yokuts.

For other tribes a principal and several subsidiary abodes are specified; thus the Paleuyami are identified with Altau and sometimes called Altinin, but lived also at Bekiu, Shikidapau, Holmiu, and other places. The Hometwoli lived at three principal sites, and the Chukchansi, Tachi, Yauelmani, and others dwelt from time to time, and perhaps simultaneously, at a number of places scattered over a considerable tract. These instances confirm the Yokuts divisions as true tribes.

Fully half the Yokuts tribal names end either in -amni, found also as -imni, -mina, -mani; or in -chi. The former suffix recurs added to place names among the Plains Miwok to designate the inhabitants of such and such spots, and among the Maidu as an ending of village names; the latter among the southern Miwok with the significance "people of." But the subtraction of either of these endings from the names of Yokuts tribes usually leaves only meaningless syllables; and in general the people themselves are well content to employ their
little national designations without inquiring what they may denote. [192]
The few etymologies which they have ventured in response to inquiries are obviously naive and unhistorical.

HABITAT.

The home of the Yokuts was the San Joaquin Valley, the entire 101
floor of which they held, from the mouth of the river to the foot of
Tehachapi Pass. In addition, they occupied the adjacent lower 131
slopes or foothills of the Sierra Nevada, up to an altitude of a few thousand feet, from Fresno River south, but nowhere to the north
of that stream. The San Joaquin River proper flows down only the 133
lower half of the length of the valley. Above it, Kings and then Kern River also break westward from the high mountains and the latter turns north into the treeless plains. Kern River drained into Tulare Lake, formerly a large, shallow basin of water surrounded by an even more extensive tract of swamp of tules, as two or three species of rush are locally known. The swamps are now reclaimed and much of the lake is normally dry and its area under cultivation.
For most of the year, formerly, the evaporation over this immense [132]
sheet sufficed to equal the intake from Kern River and other streams; in time of flood the lake might drain north through Fish Slough into Kings River. This latter stream itself, though of considerable

133 volume, was nearly lost in a lengthy area of swamp, whence its waters seem normally to have flowed backward into Tulare Lake. It seems that Kings River and Tulare Lake drained into the San Joaquin at no remote time, since the lake is fresh. The San Joaquin, from the point where it reached the central axis of the valley and perhaps once took in the excess discharge of Kings and Kern Rivers, was also bordered pretty continuously by tule swamps, though of less width than to the south. Hence the Spanish name "Los Tulares" for the low-lying portion of the valley and "Rio de los Tulares" for the stream, though by the latter term they understood the main line of the entire drainage system rather than its lower, more northerly portion alone, to which we, with greater precision but more arbitrary
● [101] logic, restrict the name San Joaquin. Hence also the appellation Tulareños, under which they consistently and appropriately knew the Yokuts. (Pl. 47.)

The eastern side of the level valley is traversed by streams from the Sierra Nevada. A dozen or so of these merit the name "river." The west side of the valley, however, on the lee of the rather low and barren Mount Diablo Coast Range, is arid; and not even one permanent stream of any size whatsoever reaches the central river system from this left hand. The overwhelming bulk of the American population is on the east side. The dispersion of the Yokuts was,
131 if anything, even more unilateral. In the whole upper valley, in which the distribution of the Yokuts groups is pretty accurately known, there were only two tribes, the Tulamni and Tachi, in the large tract west of Tulare Lake and Kings River; and even of these
[484 two the Tachi preferred to cross to the east side when summer and
221] autumn dried the overflowed lands and rendered their winter habitat a virtual desert.

101 Along the west of the San Joaquin we have less certain knowledge. This territory seems to have belonged to the Yokuts, though in default of precise information it has sometimes been attributed to the Costanoan people or to the Miwok. This very doubt indicates an unimportant occupation; and while the area was almost certainly visited by the Yokuts, and probably claimed by one or more of their northerly tribes, the number of residents must also have been very few.

133 The flow of Sierra rivers of approximately equal length is ever less toward the south, so that Yokuts streams are smaller than those in Miwok territory and much smaller than those occupied by the Maidu. The run-off in millions of acre-feet is approximately as follows. Yokuts: Kern, ¾; Kaweah, ½; Kings, 2; San Joaquin, 2. Miwok: Merced, 1¼; Tuolumne, 2; Stanislaus, 1½; Mokelumne, 1. Maidu: American, 3¾; Yuba, 3½; Feather, at Oroville, 6; the Sacramento at Red Bluff, above the Feather, 10½, most of it from the Pit. Even a short affluent of the Pit, Fall River, the habitat of one Achomawi division, carries about a million acre-feet, or more than the lengthy Kern or Kaweah.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

CLASSIFICATION.

The classification of the Yokuts tribes must be made, like that of other Indians, and those of California in particular, on the basis of language. In spite of the number of the tribes, this it not difficult; for the dialects fall clearly into two great divisions, which coincide with the two topographic regions held by the stock: the valley proper and the foothills of the southern Sierra Nevada. Only in the extreme south were there three tribes speaking idioms of the foothill type but dwelling in the plains between Tulare Lake and the Tehachapi region. These three dialects, closely similar to one another, are easily the most divergent of all Yokuts forms of speech, and thus argue an unusual and peculiar history for the little remote group of people whose idiom was derived from that of the mountains while their habitat was in the valley. 101 197

The valley dialects are the most uniform, in fact remarkably similar to one another. A Yokuts from Stockton must have been able to understand considerable of the talk of one from Bakersfield—a condition utterly unparalleled for any like distance elsewhere in California; for although the Northern Paiute and Mono afford a technical exception, they are mostly east of the Sierra Nevada and hence in the Great Basin outside the natural limits of California. The Yokuts Valley dialects seem to be classifiable into two groups, a northern along the San Joaquin and a southern from Kings River south; but the former is very little known, and it is possible that fuller information regarding it might shift the line of demarcation.

The foothill dialects, though hardly more numerous and spoken over a very much smaller area, are far more diversified. This might be anticipated from the topography of their territory. Their variety may, however, also be due to the historical fortunes of the foothill tribes. The farther south one progresses along the lower Sierra, the more deviations does one encounter from the type of Yokuts speech which is numerically preponderant and therefore justly to be considered the normal and presumably original form. Now the Yokuts as a whole constitute the southernmost branch of the great Penutian family, which, so to speak, radiates in five directions from the region of the entrance of the Sacramento and San Joaquin into the head of San Francisco Bay; in other words from the lowest and central point of the Great Valley of California. That the foothill dialects of Yokuts become more and more specialized the farther they are situated from this center of influence and possibly of origin is certainly significant; though whether it is significant of successive migrations from the north, of longer contact with Shoshonean and Chumash aliens, or merely of ever reduced intercourse with kinsmen, must as yet be left to conjecture.

101 The northern group of tribes in the foothill division are those living on the San Joaquin where this stream still pursues a southwesterly course before 197 turning into the main line of the valley. Their dialects are very similar to those of the adjacent northern valley tribes; so much so that they could almost be reckoned as of one group with them were it not that the more and more insistent divergence of all subsequent foothill dialects draws these northernmost idioms into the distinctive hill class. This comparative indeterminateness between the speech of the northern hills and plains is paralleled in the topography. Along the San Joaquin and to the north, the perfectly flat valley shades imperceptibly into the gentlest undulations, which swell and magnify into long low hillocks, until the foothills proper are gradually reached.

From Kings River south the transition from plain to foothills is abrupt, a single step often being literally sufficient to carry one from one area into the other. This means that the physiography is sharply distinct, and that the native modes of life, with their direct adaptation to the soil, can not be identical. It is therefore not surprising that the Kings River group of foothill dialects is well marked off from the adjacent southern valley group.

The Tule-Kaweah group comprises the idioms on these two streams, with which the foothill portion of Deer Creek must be included.

The Poso Creek group of dialects covers not only this stream but White River to the north and a section of Kern River to the south.

With the Buena Vista group, finally, the greatest departure from average Yokuts speech is attained, but, as already mentioned, the foothill habitat of the remainder of the division was abandoned, at least in historic times.

Here follow the names of the Yokuts tribes, their habitats, and their principal known villages. The sequence is from foothills to valley and from south to north, the reverse of that just pursued, in order to allow of procedure from the better to the less known.

TRIBES OF THE BUENA VISTA GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

101 The Tulamni (plural Tulalmina) were the tribe in possession of Buena Vista Lake, at some point on whose western or northwestern shore where the hills 131 come close to the water was their main settlement Tulamniu, "Tulamni-place." From there they ranged westward to Wogitiu in the vicinity of McKittrick. [103] (Pl. 47.)

On Kern Lake were the Hometwoli or Humetwadi. This name means "southerners" and is a variant of the common term Homtinin applied by any Yokuts to those of their neighbors who live to the south. The true tribal designation of the Hometwoli has been forgotten. They inhabited at least three principal sites: Halau near the entrance of Kern River into the channel connecting [103] Kern and Buena Vista Lakes; Loasau, somewhere on the north side of Kern Lake; and Pohalin Tinliu (meaning "ground squirrels' hole") in Yauelmani, or Sihetal Daal in the Hometwoli dialect itself, on the south shore.

The Tuhohi, Tohohai, or Tuhohayi (the *t* is almost like English *tr*) are [94] extinct. They are said to have spoken a dialect similar to Tulamni and Hometwoli, and to have lived among the channels and tule-lined sloughs of lower Kern River where these became lost in Tulare Lake. They may have ranged [103] as far as Goose Lake. Their principal habitation is spoken of as Tahayu, "Tuhohi-place."

114 A little mystery may be dispelled here. Stephen Powers found among the Yauelmani one old man, the survivor of a tribe that had once lived on Kern 115

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Lake, and whose numerals, and therefore speech, he recognized as distinctively 114 non-Yokuts. Inquiry proves that the survivor had been at one of the missions, 115 had there learned more or less Salinan, and that some of its vocables suggested to him Yokuts words of entirely different meaning. He used to regale his friends with accounts of his travels; and his rattling off the Salinan count as a meaningless string of Yokuts words became a well-known entertainment; much as we might amuse a child with a tale of a strange people called the Spanish who counted "You-know, toes, tray, quarrel." Here are the Salinan originals and his puns:

kitol, kishile	kile.
kakichu	choyochi.
lapai	uyatsi.
kicha	chuichau (a place name).
olchat, ulchao	lopchin-tinliu (at the fish hole).
painel, payat	pokoichin-tinliu.
te, tepa	tuhtu.
sanel	pusin-tinliu (at the dog's hole).
tetatsoi	hosche.
tsoe	chiwa.

TRIBES OF THE POSO CREEK GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Paleuyami, Padeuyami, Peleuyi, or, as they were called by their Shoshonean neighbors, 101 Paluyam, had their headquarters in the hills beside Poso Creek, especially at Altau ("salt-grass place"), which lay just south of this stream 131 about as far up in the hills as K'ono-ilkin or Kern Falls, to which place, and adjacent sites on Kern River, they, as well as the Yauelmani of the valley, appear to have come. They had also Bekiu and Shikidapau (*shikid*, "arrow") [103] in Poso Flat, and Holmiu in Linn's Valley.

The Kumachisi, Komechesi, Kometsiosi, or Kumachesi (plural Kumachwadi) centered about Hoschiu on White River. They were sometimes known as the Small Paleuyami, the Altinin of Altau being the Great Paleuyami. Some informants identify them with the obscure Shoshonean tribe called the Giamina, whose habitat is said to have been in or near the Paleuyami territory. The majority of the Kumachisi probably knew more than one language; [141 as to whether their native dialect was of the Paleuyami type, or of the valley 147] division, or indeed not Yokuts at all but Shoshonean, there is no certain evidence.

TRIBES OF THE TULE-KAWEAH GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Yaudanchi or Yaulanchi (plural Yauedchani or Yawilchini), also called Nutaa (plural Nuchawayi), "easterners, uplanders"—whence Garcés's generic designation of the Yokuts as Noche—held Tule River in the foothills, especially the North and Middle Forks. One of their principal winter quarters was [103] Shawahtau, above Springville. Near by was Ukunui ("drink"); and house pits at Uchiyingetau ("markings") at the painted rocks, and at Tungoshud ("gate") near the agency, on Tule River Reservation, hark back to either Yaudanchi or Bokninuwad occupancy. In spring and early summer they gathered [221] seeds in the vicinity of Lindsay; in late summer or fall they met with other tribes in Koyeti territory about Porterville for fishing and elk hunting. In dry and hungry seasons the southern end of Tulare Lake would be frequented in search of tule roots. All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River

131 All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River
101 south, except perhaps the Wowol and Chunut of Tulare Lake, and at least most
619 of the adjacent Shoshoneans, were friendly and appear to have ranged over one
another's territory amicably and almost at will. The northern Yokuts were
[578] more divided by distrusts and hostilities; definite intertribal boundaries are
known in several cases; and southern tradition speaks of invading war parties
from the north.

The Bokninuwad or Bokninwal (plural Bokenwadi), Garcés's Pagninoas,
101 are in native opinion so named because they had a habit of not returning to
131 their owners lost articles that they encountered (*bok*, "find"). They appear
to have been a smaller tribe than the neighboring and similar Yaudanchi.
Deer Creek, in the foothills, was their habitat. Here they lived at K'eyau, near
[103] the valley, and perhaps at Hoin Tinliu ("deer's hole"), farther up, not far from
Deer Creek Hot Springs, though the Shoshonean Bankalachi seem also to have
frequented the region of the latter. The southern forks of Tule River, including the present reservation, were in customary Bokninuwad range.

The Wükchamni, Wikchamni, or Wikchomni (plural Wükachmina or Wikatsmina), whose name was a byword for "gluttons," and who may be the Buesanet of Garcés, wintered on Kaweah River near Lemon Cove and Iron Bridge and frequented the adjacent hills in summer.

The Yokod or Yokol (plural Yuwekadi) had their principal village a dozen miles below the Wükchamni, on a flat near Kaweah railroad station, on the south side of Kaweah River, north of Exeter. Their summer range met that of the Yaudanchi about Lindsay.

The Gawia or Kawia (plural Gaweyayi or Kaweyayi), from whom Kaweah River takes its name, lived at a hill on the north side of the stream, opposite the Yokod. Their recognized northward range included Chidepuish, Calvin Hill, on Big Dry or Rattlesnake Creek. They seem to be the people whom Garcés calls Coguifa.

TRIBES OF THE KINGS RIVER GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

In this coterie the Choinimni survive to-day in the greatest, although much
reduced, numbers. They were perhaps also the most populous before the white
[103] man came. Their village was the before-mentioned Tishechu, said to mean
"at the gate," a place of some importance on the south side of Kings River
at the mouth of Mill Creek.

The Choinimni were the Yokuts farthest up Kings River proper, Mono terri-
tory beginning some miles beyond Tishechu. Next up Mill Creek were the
[103] Michahai (plural Michahaisha or Michayisa), at Hehshinau, on the north side
of the stream, on a flat at the foot of the pine-covered ridge.

Up a small affluent of Mill Creek from the south, in Squaw Valley, some
6 miles from Hehshinau, were the Chukaimina (plural Chokoyemi). These
[103] lived at Dochiu and Mashtinau, at the north and east sides of the circular valley.

Up Mill Creek, at Kicheyu near Dunlap, and at another site known as Chit'-
atichi ("clover"), were the Entimbich or Indimbich (plural Enatbicha or
[103] Inadbicha). These, neighbors of the Shoshonean Wobonuch, have sometimes
also been classed as Monos; but a vocabulary of their dialect establishes them
as Yokuts.

Below the Choinimni on Kings River, but on the opposite side, were the
[103] Toihicha (plural Toyehachi). They lived at Tanaiu ("Jimson weed place"),
at Hughes Creek, and at Bochiptau.

Still farther down Kings River, but this time on the south side, were the
Aiticha, Aitecha, Aititsa, Aigicha, or Ai'kicha (plural Aiyetatsi or Aiyekachi).
[103] Their village was K'ipayu, somewhat nearer to Centerville than to Tishechu.

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101 131 Kocheyali is mentioned by some of the Yokuts as another name for the Aiticha. This is not, however, their unanimous verdict. Two designations for a single tribe are also without parallel, apart from duplicate appellations based on names of places or terms of direction. There may therefore have been a distinct Kocheyali tribe in this vicinity.

With the Gashowu (plural Gashwusha) Big Dry Creek, losing itself in the plain near Fresno, and Little Dry Creek, draining into the San Joaquin, are reached. The Gashowu dialect also differs somewhat from the idioms of the Kings River group [197] and approaches correspondingly to those of the northern foothill or San Joaquin group; but its general affinities are still with the former. The Chukchansi, for instance, complain of difficulty in understanding Gashowu, which fact, since their own idiom is very similar to Dumna, which in turn was spoken only a few miles from the Gashowu of Little Dry Creek, is significant. The Gashowu ranged to Fresno to gather seeds in spring or summer. Old maps show two Indian rancherias. [103] One of these can be identified with Pohoniu, below Letcher on Big Dry Creek. On Little Dry Creek were Yokau in Auberry Valley, near Opnoniu, and Ochopou, the latter attributed also to the Kechayi.

TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Toltichi (plural Toletachi), the "stream people," were the Yokuts tribe farthest up the San Joaquin and neighbors of the Mono. They are extinct. The recorded fragments of their speech show many distortions, not only from [197] northern foothill but from all forms of Yokuts. It is doubtful whether these divergencies are due to faulty recollection or are real modifications caused by prolonged contact of a small and remote mountain group with people of alien language, as in the case of the Paleuyami. It is even conceivable that the Toltichi were Monos, who mispronounced the Yokuts which many of them had partly learned. Tsopotipau, at the electric power site on the large bend of the river below the entrance of the North Fork, was Toltichi.

101 103 131 The Kechayi (plural Keche'wali or Kichainawi) had the south bank of the San Joaquin for some miles above Millerton. A settlement of theirs upstream from this abandoned town and fort was Kochoyu, which seems to mean nothing more than "Kechayi place." Farther up they lived at Kowichkowicho. Below the Kechayi were the Wakichi, a tribe of the valley division.

The Dumna (plural Dumanisha) were on the north side of the San Joaquin, about opposite the Kechayi. Their range took in the country opposite Millerton; Table Mountain; the mouth of Fine Gold Creek; and Bellevue, which they called Dinishneu.

The Dalinchi (plural Da'elnashi) were a little off the San Joaquin. Fine Gold Creek was their territory. Here they inhabited Moloneu; also O'Neals. Dalinau, "Dalinchi place," was over the divide in the Coarse Gold Creek drainage.

The Chukchansi, Shukshansi, or Shukshanchi (plural Chukadnisha) held Coarse Gold Creek, an affluent of Fresno River, and the head of Cottonwood Creek. They are the northernmost of all the foothill tribes, and their border, Fresno River, where they adjoined the Miwok, was the farthest limit of all the [648] hill Yokuts. They appear to have moved and scattered considerably, and, being on friendly terms with their Miwok neighbors, to have had no hesitation in entering their territory. This is probably the reason why the modern Chukchansi list among their settlements certain places across the Fresno River, such as Apiau and Yiwisniu, whereas actually it was the Miwok who

101 seem to have owned a small tract on the south side of the stream. Hapasau, 103 near Fresno Flats, was, however, Chukchansi. Also well up on Fresno River was Chukchanau or Suksanau, "Chukchansi place." On Coarse Gold Creek 131 they inhabited Tsuloniu, near the headwaters; Kowoniu or Kohoniu, on Picayune Creek; Kataniu, the present Picayune rancheria, where the majority of the survivors dwell; and, on Cottonwood Creek, they lived at Ch'eyau, "bone place," near Bates.

It is possible that place names like Kochoy-u, Dalin-au, Chukchan-au are original and that the tribal names Kechayi, Dalinchi, and Chukchanchi are derived from them. However, none of these place names yield to etymology, whereas many that are not related to tribal names do have meanings.

TRIBES OF THE SOUTHERN GROUP OF THE VALLEY DIVISION.

The Yauelmani, Ya'welmani, Yowelmani, Yowenmani, Yowedmani, which forms appear to be the plural of Yaulamni or Yaudimni, perhaps number more survivors to-day than any other Yokuts tribe. Their ancient range was extensive. They held Tinliu ("at the hole") on Paso Creek below the Tejon ranch house—perhaps the most southerly of all Yokuts settlements. This must have been a favorite abode, since it gave them the appellation Tinlinin, which, together with "Tejoneños," is still used as a synonym of Yauelmani. With this spot went ownership of the lower courses of Tejon and other near-by streams. Thirty or more miles to the north they held Woilo ("planting place," "sowing [177] place"—the name was given after mission influences began to reach them), on the site of the town of Bakersfield. Up Kern River they lived at times at K'ono-ilkin ("water's fall") and at Shoko ("wind place," in a gorge), above which began the territory of the Tübatulabal, whom they knew as Pitanisha. These spots were also frequented by the Paleuyami across the divide on near-by Poso Creek, and it is not certain which tribe laid claim of ownership to them. A short distance above Bakersfield in the first foothills was Tsineuhiu ("at the shades" or "ramada place"), not permanently inhabited, but a favorite day resting place between night journeys in the summer; while below the city, on one of the channels of the river draining toward Kern Lake, was Kuyo. The Yauelmani are also mentioned as at Altau with the Paleuyami, at Hoschiu on White River with the Kumachisi, and at Chididiknawasi in the Deer Creek country—all places above the valley. It is therefore not surprising that there are old Indians, born, before the coming of the Americans, of a Yauelmani [582] parent married to a Yaudanchi or Wowol partner. Unions with the Shoshonean Kitanemuk to the south and Bankalachi to the north also occurred.

The Koyeti or Kuyeti (plural Koyetati or Kuyetwadi), now extinct, seem to have been a smaller tribe of almost identical speech with the Yauelmani. They held the swampy sloughs of Tule River from Chokowisho, Porterville, down; this tract being known as Kiawitnau.

The Choinok (plural Choyenaki), the Choinoc of Garcés and Cabot, another small group, were the southernmost of three tribes in the flaring, slough-intersected delta of the Kaweah. They lived south of Tulare City and below Farmersville, probably on Deep and Outside Channels, in which region their town of Ch'iuta may be looked for.

The Wo'lasi or Wo'ladji (plural Wowulasi, Wowelasi, Wowlasi) were north of the Choinok, at and below Farmersville, perhaps on Cameron Channel. This small tribe must not be confused with the more prominent Wowol (plural Wowowoli) of Tulare Lake.

The Telamni, Telomni, Tedamni (plural Tielami, Tielamni, Tiedami, Tiedamni, or Teyelamni), the "Telam or Torim" of Garcés and Telame of the

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missions, were northwest of the Wo'lasi, at Visalia and Goshen. Among their 101 settlements was Waitatshulul, some 7 miles north of Tulare City. Here for the 103 first time we hear of fixed tribal boundaries. The Telamni, Wo'lasi, and [423] Choinok did not pass over Cross Creek, the northernmost slough fed from the Kaweah, without encountering the hostility of the Nutunutu.

The valley tribes on Kings River appear to have been at least as large as those on the Kaweah, but they have died out almost as completely. At Centerville, also known as King River, at Sanger, and toward Reedley, were the Wechihit, Wechabet, or Wetehit (plural Wichehati). At Musahau, in the low bottoms, between the middle and east channels opposite Sanger, one or two survive near an ancient village site. Wewayo, on Wahtoke Creek, seems to have been a no-man's-land so far as tribal ownership went, but was at any rate visited by the Wechihit. A Wahtoke "tribe," formerly mentioned in this vicinity, was given that designation, which means "pine nut," by the Americans from the name of the chief of the band.

The Nutunutu or Nutuntu (plural Nutantisha) were south of lower Kings River, in a country formerly a mass of sloughs and swamps. Armona, Hanford, and Kingston were their territory; a little south of the latter was their village Chiau. Hibek'ia, where they also lived, can not be exactly located. Their name is puzzling. It probably goes back to the root *not*, upstream (compare the Nuta'a, or uplanders, the mountain Mono or hill Yokuts in general); yet the Nutunutu were certainly a downstream people, if there were any, to all their neighbors except possibly the Tachi.

The Wimilchi (plural Wimelachi) were separated by Kings River from the Nutunutu—and apparently without friendship—much as these kept Cross Creek as a barrier against the Telamni. The Wimilchi in turn observed Fish Slough, connecting Kings River and Tulare Lake, as a boundary against the Tachi. They had Lillis and Laton, and Cold and Murphy Sloughs; and in general seem to have occupied the whole of the Laguna de Tache land grant, though this was named after their better known western neighbors. Ugona was a Wimilchi town.

Tulare Lake and its shores are stated by all the Yokuts to have belonged to three tribes and three only, all of them large and warlike, though not always friendly to one another. These were, in order from south to north, the Wowol, Chunut, and Tachi.

The Wowol, Wowod, Wowal, or Wo'wal (plural Wowowoli, Wowowadi, Wowowali, or Wu'wo'wali) are the Bubol, Hubol, and perhaps Tuohuala of the Spaniards. They are not to be confounded with the Wo'lasi (plural Wowulasi) of Kaweah River. They are said, in a characteristically picturesque but probably unreliable native explanation, to have derived their name from standing ("*wowul*") in rows and lousing each other. Of more [501] intrinsic interest is the fact that they lived on an island off the east shore of the lake, from which they had to cross on their tule rafts to the timbered or brushy stream outlets on the mainland to obtain firewood. This island is said to have been due west of the present Delano, which identifies it with Atwells Island, where old maps show an Indian rancheria on the lake shore. This settlement was called Sukuwutnu, Shukwatnau, or Shugudnu; the name Dulau has also been given it.

The settlement or settlements Miketsiu and Chuntau of the Chunut (plural Chunotachi or Chunotati) can be less exactly located, but the tribal range was the Tulare Lake shore in the Kaweah Delta region. Spanish sources refer to them as Sumtache and Tunctache. These people seem to have penetrated freely up the sloughs. Cross Creek was their northern boundary, as of

101 the Telamni, against the Tachi and Nutunutu, a fact that argues close asso-
103 ciation between them and their upstream neighbors of the Kaweah.

131 The Tachi, Tadji, or Dachi (plural Tachechayi, Tadjedjayi, Dachechayi, Tatsetsai, or Tatetayi), the northernmost of the three Tulare Lake tribes, appear to have been one of the largest of all Yokuts divisions, and still survive to the number of some dozens. The Spaniards frequently referred to the Tache, and a Laguna de Tache land grant survives on our maps. Their country was the tract from northern Tulare Lake and its inlet or outlet, Fish Slough, west to the Mount Diablo chain of the Coast Range, where they bordered the Salinan Indians. Here they wintered at Udjiu, downstream from Coalinga, and at Walna, where the western hills approach the lake. Golon (Huron) was theirs. In summer they crossed to the east of the outlet and gathered seeds in the neighborhood of Lemoore. Chi, west of Heinlen, and Waiu, Mussel Slough, on which stands their present rancheria of Santa Rosa, were in this tract. The various delimitations cited by older Indians as having formerly existed make it seem that the Tachi and Nutunutu were friendly to each other, but suspicious and probably hostile at times toward the Wimilchi on the one side and the Chunut, Temlani, Wo'lasi, and Choinok on the other.

The Apiachi are an obscure and extinct tribelet, living with the lower Kings River tribes, but somehow associated with the Tachi, from whom some of the older Indians now refuse to separate them. They lived north of Kings River and east of its outlet slough, at Wohui, beyond Telweyit or Summit Lake, in the direction of Elkhorn.

TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN GROUP OF THE VALLEY DIVISION.

The Pitkachi, perhaps more accurately Pitkati (plural Pitakati or Pidekati) are said to have received their appellation from an evil-smelling salt or alkali of the same name, which they used to gather or prepare. This in turn is named after feces, *pidik*. They held the south side of the San Joaquin, living at Kohuou, near Herndon or Sycamore; at Weshiu, on a slough; and at Gewachiu, still farther downstream.

The Wakichi or Wa'kichi, plural Wakeyachi, were on the same side of the river but farther up, not quite opposite the Dumna, and just below the Kechayi. Holowichniu, near Millerton, was in their territory. This location would suggest that the Wakichi were part of the northern foothill group, but a few preserved phrases of their dialect indicate that it belonged to the valley division.

The Hoyima, Hoyim'a, or Hoyimha (plural Hoyeyami) were also on the San Joaquin where it still flows west, but opposite the Pitkachi; in other words, on the north side. They may have ranged as far as Fresno River. They had settlements at K'eliutanau, on a creek entering the San Joaquin from the north, and at Moyoliu above the mouth of Little Dry Creek. They were not without fighting proclivities, and at times engaged the Chauchila of the plains and the Chukchansi of the hills.

The Heuchi, Heuche, or Heutsi (plural Hewachinawi) had a large settlement at Ch'ekayu, on Fresno River 4 miles below Madera. They were certainly on the north side of this stream and may have had both its lower banks.

The Chauchila or Chauchili, more correctly Chaushila or Chaushilha (plural Chaweshali), sometimes also called Toholo, "lowlanders, westerners," by the hill tribes, were in the plains along the several channels of Chowchilla River, in whose name their appellation is perpetuated. They lived at Shehamniu on this stream, apparently at the eastern edge of the plains, some miles below

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Buchanan. Halau, "cane," near Berenda, which may have been in their range or that of the Heuchi, recalls a town of the same name on far distant Kern Lake. The Chauchila may have been a populous tribe; they were certainly a warlike one, for their name is a byword for bravery to the southernmost end of Yokuts territory among tribes ignorant of the nearer Heuchi and Hoyima. It is frequently translated as "murderous," "cruel," or "aggressive"; but the nearest roots known are not very similar: Yaudanchi *tawidj*, *taudj*, to die or kill, and *taw* (*t* alomst like *ch*), to overcome. Two mythical traditions told by the Yauelmani begin at Kamupau in Chumash territory beyond San Emigdio at the extreme head of the San Joaquin Valley, and progress, one to the ocean on the south, the other north to the Chauchila. Such a range of geographical knowledge, however vague, is quite unparalleled in California, except among the inquisitive and far-traveled Mohave, who, by the way, were also known to the Yokuts through visiting parties from across the desert and by reputation as a fighting people, and who quite correctly termed the Yokuts Kwalinyokosmachi, "tule sleepers." 101 103 131

The Chauchila are the first Yokuts tribe to have no upland neighbors of their own stock, the southern Miwok now being the easterners. They are also the last tribe, until Stockton is reached, concerning whom anything definite is known. In the plains along the Merced, Tuolumne, Stanislaus, and Calaveras Rivers, on the east bank of the lower San Joaquin, and perhaps on its west side also, were Yokuts. There are some names extant; but whether of tribes or towns, or where these were located, is doubtful. Some fragments of language, transmitted from several independent sources, show that there existed a variety of northern valley speech distinguished by a frequent change of *m* and *n* to *b* and *d*; but again there is no certainty where these dialects were spoken. [197] There are known in this region the Nupchinche or Noptinte, not located; the Tawalimni, presumably on Tuolumne River, which appears to be named from them; the Lakisamni, perhaps to be connected with Takin (for Lakiu?) rancheria at Dents or Knights Ferry on the Stanislaus; the Siakumne; and Hannesuk, which sounds like a Miwok place name, but is given as a tribe and placed in territory that was probably Yokuts. Some names can be identified as generically denoting any inhabitants in certain directions, such as Nututamne and Kosmitas or Xosmitamne, Yokuts for "upstream people" and "northern people," respectively; and Tammukamne, Miwok for "northerners." Others, like Yachik, Yachikamne, or Yachimesi, refer only to village sites or the inhabitants of particular places, instead of being tribal names. And still others, like Coconoon, an anciently mentioned group on Merced River, whom a vocabulary proves to have been Yokuts, are utterly hopeless, unless one is ready to take such random shots as to identify this term with Gogoni, a spot said to have marked the extreme northern or upland range of the Chauchila. The early travelers often encountered these northernmost Yokuts far from their homes or at the missions, and rarely cared or were able to record their exact habitat. At the present time, when an old Indian can be found who remembers a few words of the Yokuts speech of his father or grandfather, he has usually forgotten the name of the tribe, or, if he remembers this, is in ignorance or in patent error of its former location. A similar darkness reigns concerning the Wintun, Maidu, Miwok, and Costanoan groups once on or near San Francisco Bay. In short, regrettable as the fact is, we can scarcely hope ever to have wholly accurate or full information concerning these tribes.

Conditions are a little better for knowledge of the last and probably most northerly Yokuts tribe, the Chulamni, who apparently are the group that fre-

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101 103 131 quents the older sources under the designations of Tcholovone and Cholovomne. Fortune preserved until recently a few individuals of this tribe, who retained a reasonable command of their forefathers' speech. This, on comparison with the Chauchila dialect, has proved to be typical Yokuts of the northern valley group, making the appurtenance of the intervening tribes to the same group substantially certain. The Chulamni inhabited Yachik and Wana near Stockton, the latter just below the landing. Their territory extended at least some miles down the San Joaquin and up the Calaveras; probably also across the former stream, possibly as far west as Mount Diablo.

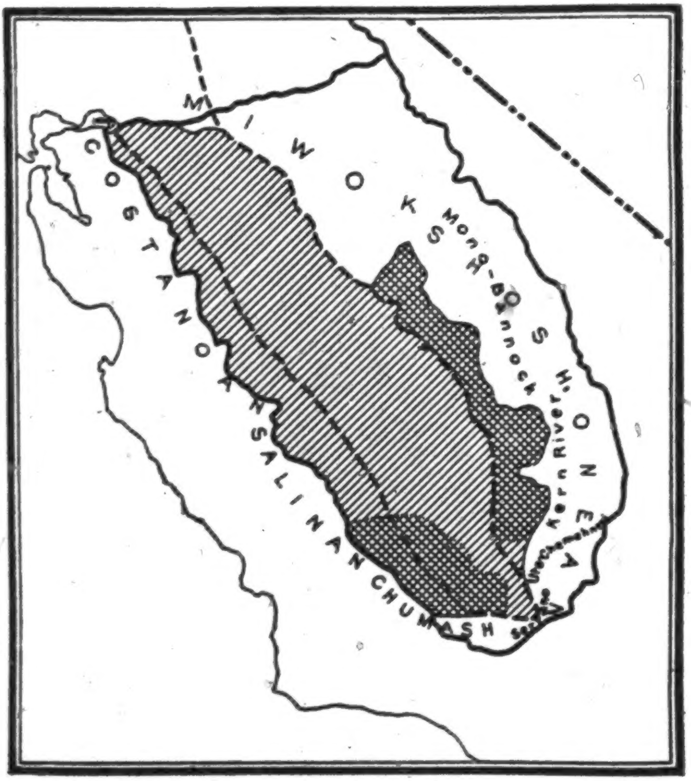

FIG. 42.—Yokuts topography, distribution, and neighbors. The heavy line marks the San Joaquin-Tulare drainage; the broken line, the level San Joaquin Valley. Territory of Yokuts of valley division in hatching; of foothill division in cross-hatching.

SPEECH AND TOPOGRAPHY.

101 131 The very remarkable relation of the Yokuts habitat and of their speech divisions to topography is shown in Figure 43. It is clear that they are essentially a valley people. Not only do they hold the whole

of the San Joaquin Valley floor but their extension into the hills is of 101
the slightest. The higher Sierra Nevada everywhere, and the lower 131
slopes in the north, are in the possession of alien nations.

Equally significant is the almost perfect correspondence between 101
topography and speech. The valley dialects are absolutely confined
to the plains, except for a small part of the range of the Yauelmani 133
in the extreme south. The foothill group of dialects is restricted 197
with equal exactness to the hills, except where the three southwestern tribes, finding the lee side of the Coast Range too barren for their subsistence, appear to have come down into the adjacent tule swamps. The correlation between speech and soil surface is so rigid that causes of such potency must be inferred to have been operative as could scarcely have prevailed to this extent among the Yokuts without being of some influence elsewhere. Indeed it seems, as already pointed out, that lines of dialectic cleavage followed the edge of the plains in the Sacramento Valley, among Miwok, Maidu, and Wintun. On the other hand, it is dangerous to reason from the mass conditions of the great valley, flanked by the massive, unbroken wall of the Sierra, to circumstances obtaining in regions of more irregular topography. Several Pomo dialects, for instance, extend practically unchanged over belts of coast, timber, valley, mountain, and inland waters.

It is also clear from Figure 43 how much more diversified the foot- 101
hill tribes were than those of the valley. Holding barely a fifth of 197
the area of the stock, they comprised about one-half of the tribes, and five out of seven of its dialect groups. The diversity of surface in the hill country is only partially responsible. Of more moment, probably, is the fact that the foothill tribes, happening to constitute
a fringe, were thrown into more intimate contact with their alien
neighbors dwelling higher on the same slope of the Sierra Nevada, [177]
and thus had stimulated in them those unconscious influences toward change of language that only association with the foreigner seems to bring.

It is difficult to look at this map, with its enormous solid nucleus of valley, and defend oneself from the impression that this is the original home of the Yokuts group, and that the border foothill tribes represent an upland spilling over. This would be contrary to the view sometimes entertained that the Yokuts once occupied the entire basin to its summit, and were in process of being gradually driven to the center by Shoshonean pressure. From the Yokuts side the appearance is rather of an expansion of this stock and a pushing back of Shoshoneans who previously might have held all of the mountains and perhaps the southern end of the valley.

As a matter of fact, it is impossible to decide. Either alternative looks plausible as the evidence is approached from one aspect or the

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 197 other. What is most likely is that a condition nearly of equilibrium between the two stocks has been maintained for a long time. The four or five Shoshonean divisions of quite diversified speech did not all crowd westward over the watershed in any short period; nor did the specialized Yokuts foothill dialects, no matter how much effect we allow to topography and foreign association, spring up in two or three centuries.

DESIGNATIONS OF THE STOCK.

101 The name "Yokuts" is taken from a native word for person or people, appearing as *yokoch* and in similar forms in a number of the dialects of the stock. The Spanish Tulareños, "people of the rush marshes," coincides very closely with modern Yokuts in its ethnic application. Mariposan is a book name, happily moribund, since it is equally arbitrary and erroneous. The Indians of Mariposa County are Miwok, not Yokuts. Foreign Indian names are few. The Costanoans at San Juan Bautista called the Yokuts Yawisun; the Chumash of Ventura, Chminimolich, "northerners"; the Mohave, Kwalinyo-kosmachi, "tule sleep."

YOKUTS AND OTHER CALIFORNIA POPULATION.

161 The problem of the size of Yokuts' population is crucial for the question of what the number of California Indians may have been, but unfortunately it seems impossible of entirely accurate solution.

The prime factor of uncertainty is the size of the tribe. Two hundred and fifty souls seems an overconservative estimate. There may have been tribes that surpassed 500. On the other hand, this latter figure appears to be excessive as an average. It is difficult to say why, in the absence of any evidence bearing directly on the point; but the nature of the country, the descriptions of travelers, and the Indians' statements as to their great-grandfathers' customs, somehow leave the impression that the Yokuts tribe did not so very much exceed the usual California village community in populational strength. But again, the consistent adherence to the principle that each tribe possessed its peculiar dialect warns against setting the figure very low. Three to four hundred persons is perhaps the soundest estimate that can be made, and with 50 or nearly 50 tribes, this would yield from 15,000 to 20,000 souls for the entire group.

161 177 797 Mission records are of little aid, for although there were Yokuts at nearly all of the church establishments from San Luis Obispo to San Francisco, and a number of tribal names can be recognized, statistics are for the total at one mission at one time. San Antonio may have harbored more Yokuts than Salinan neophytes when secularization came, but the proportions of the two national elements are obscure. It also seems impossible to ascertain how exhaustively the Franciscans drew upon the tribes that they tapped,

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

161 too small for an estimate of the original block. The remnant may be 2 per cent or 5. It does not help to answer the question.

● 101 161 This uncertainty weakens one of the potentially strongest lines of evidence that might bear on the problem of the ancient population of California. The Yokuts held a full tenth, possibly an eighth, of the area of the State. If we knew their numbers, a simple multiplication, corrected by an allowance for productivity of the soil under native exploitation, would yield a total that would be of value for controlling estimates derived by other methods. Groups of narrower range or numbers do not justify the application of such procedure; conditions are too unrepresentative. The Yurok, for instance, owned barely one-half of 1 per cent of the area of California, the Chemehuevi perhaps 5 per cent: ratios that, with what is known of their numbers, would give in the one case well over half a million and in the other much less than 50,000 for the State.

161 However, the almost lost opportunity may be essayed. Say 18,000 Yokuts in a ninth of California: 162,000 Indians once in the State. Or, taking the highest possible figures, 25,000 in a tenth, gives 250,000 as a maximum limit.

Then comes the correction. There undoubtedly were areas more densely populated than the average of the Yokuts habitat: the Santa Barbara Islands, stretches of the shore fronting them, certain valleys in the coast region, the district of the lower Klamath. There were probably as many Pomo on Clear Lake as Yokuts on much larger Tulare Lake. But these areas of concentration were small. It was apparently precisely the fact of their confinement that brought about the density. The additions to be made to the total on account of distinctly heavier population are therefore not very great in the aggregate.

The deductions to be made for a sinking of the Yokuts ratio in less favorable regions are more considerable. A full third of the State is thorough desert, substantially desert, high mountains, bare lava flow, or dense timber. In all these environments the population was of the slenderest. Generally such regions were not even inhabited except in oasislike spots; and that the maps in the present and other volumes show continuous territories rather than these significant oases is not because the entire areas have been thought to be inhabited, but because ignorance of precise conditions of habitation has rendered other delineation impracticable for most of the State. Everything east of the Sierra, its entire upper portion, a solid three-fourths of southern California, most of the northeastern angle of the State, and a number of tracts in the coast ranges, belong to these thinly populated regions, which loom broadly enough to bring down by at least a fourth any total computed from the rate prevailing in more favored regions.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER 33.

THE YOKUTS: SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

600 Culture, 492; marriage, 492; moieties and totems, 493; chiefs and officials, 496; war, 497; money, 498; greetings, 498; birth, 498; names, 499; death and mourning observances, 499.

CULTURE.

● 101 131 The extinction of the northern valley tribes prevents their being included in the following account of Yokuts life, which is accordingly confined to those members of the family who live south of the Miwok, or approximately those shown in Plate 47. When such and such customs are ascribed to "the northern Yokuts," the tribes of the upper San Joaquin region are therefore referred to, notably the Chukchansi, who survive in the greatest numbers. Under "southern Yokuts" all the tribes from Kaweah River south may generally be understood, although most of the information relates to the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani. For the "central" tribes of the lake region and the sloughs of lower Kings River the Tachi may be taken as typical. It is regrettable that so little knowledge survives concerning the Yokuts of the lower San Joaquin, as their practices must have been different from those of their southerly kinsmen at many points. Living almost in contact with the Wintun and Maidu, and between the Miwok and Costanoans, it is practically certain that they shared the Kuksu and other ceremonies of the ritual system which is common to these groups and centered in the first-named stock. The Yokuts south of the San Joaquin performed ceremonies of entirely different type. This lack of similarity is probably typical of many other distinctions which can only be suspected.

MARRIAGE.

584 Marriage was a comparatively informal affair all the way from the Chukchansi to the Yauelmani, though payment was always made for the bride, sometimes by as high as a hundred *chok* measures of beads. A father might send his son to a prospective son-in-law of his choice, with instructions to address him as his brother-in-law. Or a man might suggest to a friend that they be *maksi*—parents of a married couple. The bridegroom would then appear, but if the girl remon-

2:Kroeber NS29 Yokuts

101, 102, 131, 133, 312, 361, 197

Sec. A	Sec. B
Sec. C	Sec. D

Chart of the position of sections of map 526-I.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts NS29

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

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312
361
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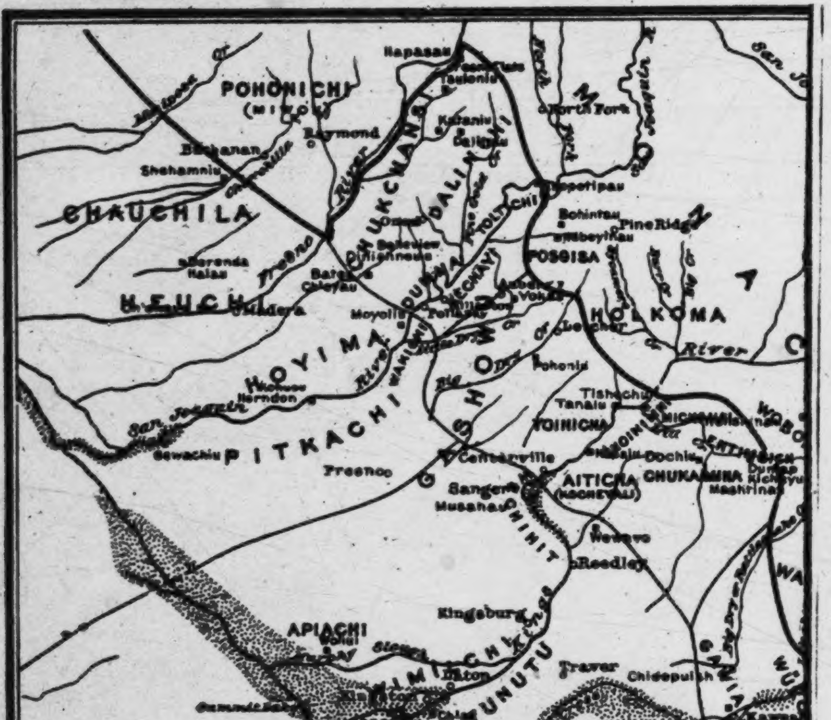
Hapasau
POHONICHI
(MIWOK)
Raymond
Buchanan
Shehamniu
CHAUCHILA
Fresno River
CHUKCHANSI
DALINAU
TOLTICHI
North Fork
Pine Ridge
POSGISA
HEUCHI
Madera
Moyoliu
HOLKOMA
River
HOYIMA
Herndon
San Joaquin
Sewachiu
PITKACHI
Fresno
Centerville
Sanger
Musahau
AITICHA
(KOCHEYALI)
TOIHICHA
CHUKAIMINA
Tishechu
Tanaiu
Reedley
Kingsburg
APIACHI
Slough
WIMILCHI
Laton
NUTUNUTU
Traver
Goshen
Visalia
Hanford
Lemoore
TELAMNI
Heinlen
Chi
Huron
Udjiu
Coalinga
TACHI
Tulare
WOLASI
CHOINOK
Tulare Lake
(in 1850)
Waina
Deer Cr
White
Dudley
Delano
WOWOL
Coast
Poso

[p.526-I(A)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts NS29

BULLETIN 78 PLATE 47

● 101
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361
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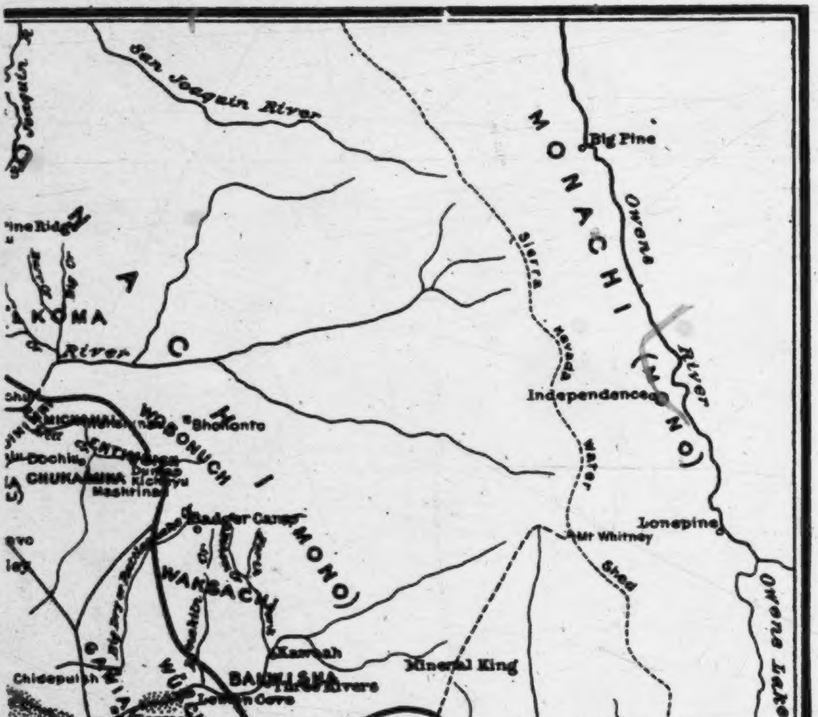

San Joaquin River
San Joaquin
MONACHI
Big Pine
Owens River
Sierra Nevada
Independence
(MONO)
water
Lonepine
Mt Whitney
shed
Owens Lake
MONACHI
River
KOMA
Bhohonto
WOBONUCH
CHUKAMINA
Mashrinau
Badger Camp
(MONO)
WAKSACHI
Kaweah
Mineral King
BALWISHA
Three Rivers
Lemon Cove
Chidepuish
Visalia
WŪKCHAMMI
Exeter
Farmersville
YAUDANCHI
Daunt
Ukun'ui
Porterville
Tule R
Kern River
TANISHA (TŪBATULABAL)
South Fk Kern River
BOKNINUWAD
Uchiyingetau
Deer Cr
Willow Springs
White R
PALEWYAMI
KUMACHISI
Delano
Lion Valley
Shikidapu
Poso Flat
Kernville
Tamoso
Weldon
Owens Peak
Walker's Pass
shed
Water
YAUELMANI

[p.526-I(β)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts NS29

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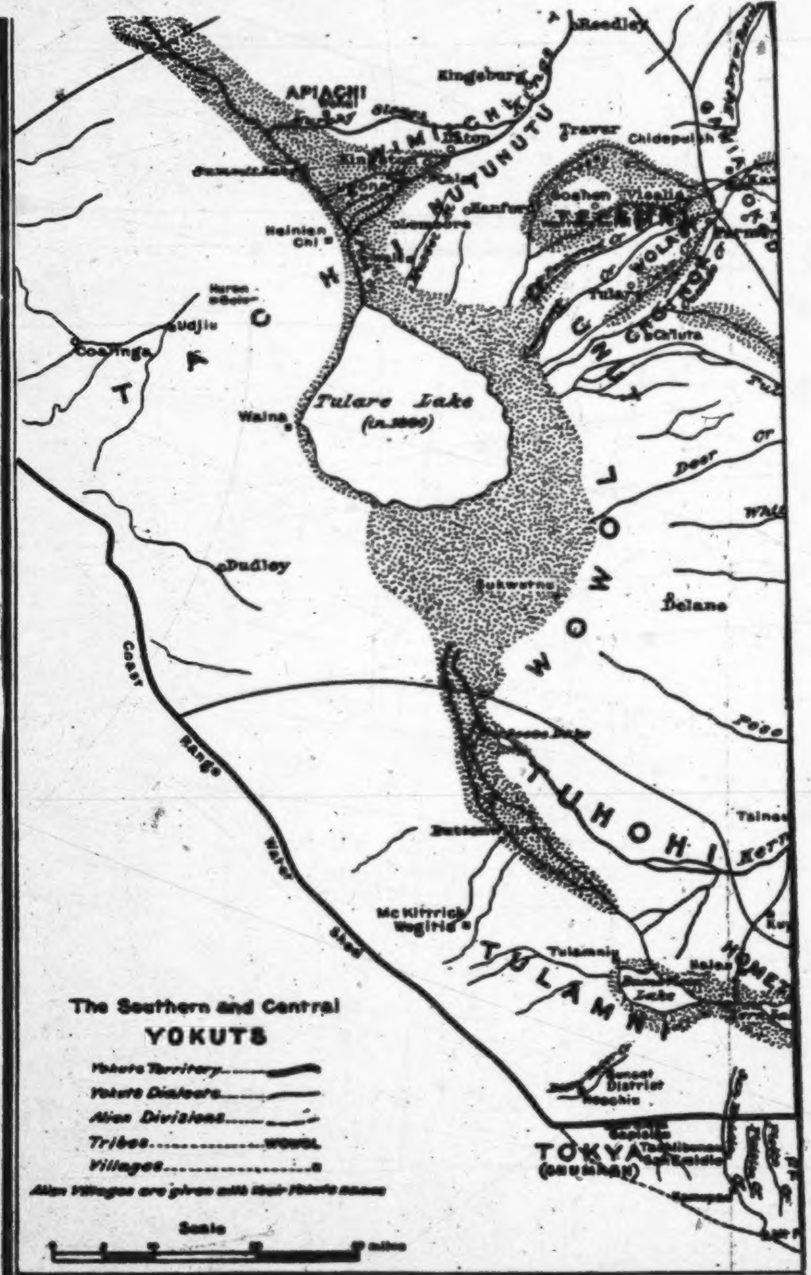

Reedley
Kingsburg
APIACHI
Traver
Chidepuish
WIMILCHI
NUTUNUTU
Summit Lake
Kingston
Heinlen
Chi
Hanford
Lemoore
Goshen
Visalia
TELAMNI
WOLASI
Tulare
Huron
Udjiu
Coalinga
T A C H I
Tulare Lake
(in 1850)
Waina
Dudley
Sukwutnu
Delano
W O W O L
Deer Cr
Poso
Coast Range
T U H O H I
Kern
McKittrick
Wogitiu
T U L A M N I
Tulamniu
Halau
HOMETWOLI
Lake
Sunset District
TOKYA
(Chumash)
The Southern and Central
YOKUTS
Yokuts Territory
Yokuts Dialects
Alien Divisions
Tribes
WOWOL
Villages
Alien Villages are given with their Yokuts names
Scale
miles

[p. 526-I(c)]

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953

NS29 Yokuts NS29

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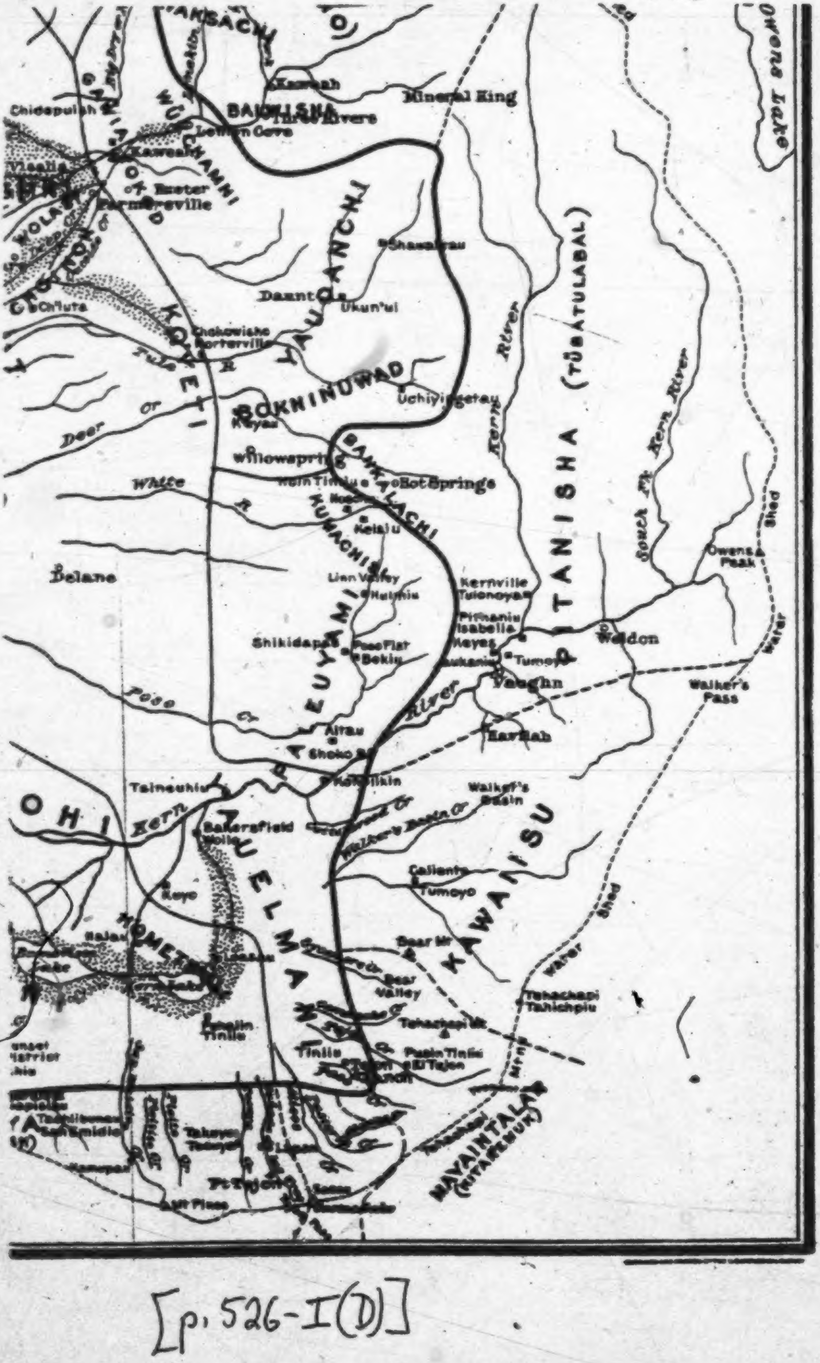

WAKSACHI
BALWISHA
Kaweah
Three Rivers
Mineral King
Lemon Cove
Chidepuish
WUKCHAMNI
Kaweah
Visalia
Exeter
Farmersville
WOLASI
CHOINOK
Chiluta
Shawahtau
YAUDANCHI
Daant
Ukun'ui
Chokowisho
Porterville
KOYETI
Tule R.
BOKNINUWAD
Uchiyingetau
Deer Cr
Keyau
Willowspring
BANKALACHI
Hot Springs
White R.
KUMACHISI
Delano
Kelsiu
Lion Valley
Kernville
Tulonoyu
PITANISHA
(TŪBATULABAL)
Kern River
South Fk. Kern River
Owens Peak
Shikidapau
Poso Flat
Bekiu
PALEUYAMI
Pitsanisu
Isabella
Weldon
Tumoyo
Vaughn
Poso Cr.
River
Walker's Pass
Water Shed
Altau
Shoko
Havilah
Tsineuhiu
Woilo
Walker's Basin
OHI
Kern
Bakersfield
TUELMA
KAWAIISU
Caliente
Tumoyo
Koyo
HOMETWOLI
Bear Mt.
Bear Valley
Tehachapi
Tahichpiu
Tehachapi Mt.
Pastoria Cr.
Tinliu
Pusin Tinliu
El Tejon
Tejon
Tashlipunau
San Emidio
Tokoya
Ft. Tejon
Castac
Mt Pinos
MAYAINTALAP
(KITANEMUK)
Owens Lake

[p. 526-I(D)]

FOREWORD

● 101 The Yokuts or Yokoch Indians and F. F. Latta are an
131 extraordinary combination.

This great Indian nationality once held the whole floor of
[161] the San Joaquin Valley, plus much of the adjoining foothill belt
on both sides. Numbering some eighteen to twenty thousand
[619] souls, they were clustered into nearly fifty independent local
tribes, mostly friendly to one another. Though each tribe definitely
held its own delimited territory, there was constant visiting
[262] and return visiting, as nature according to season most
bountifully provided fish, fowl, game, seeds, acorns or roots
once here and then there. In their three hundred miles of
range, the Yokuts were the most extensive as they were perhaps
the most populous of the many diverse nationalities of aboriginal
[197] California. Each Yokuts tribe spoke its own slightly
divergent dialect or sub-dialect; but all the way from Stockton
to Bakersfield there prevailed at least partial intelligibility.
Customs and institutions evinced a similar basic uniformity,
varied by local peculiarities of detail, over the total stretch of
the San Joaquin Valley. They were a tall, well built people of
142 open outlook, were the Yokuts: frank, up-standing, casual and
181 unceremonious, optimistic and friendly, fond of laughter, not
given to cares of property or too much worry about tomorrow;
and they lived in direct simple relation to their land and world,
to its animals, spirits, and gods, and to one another.

F. F. Latta, the friend and historian of the Yokuts, is one
114 of those rare beings—a natural-born ethnographer. That means
he is a describer of other peoples' exotic ways and customs, an
interpreter of their temperaments, a sympathetic reporter of
their fortunes. Born and raised in the Great Valley, and long
one of its better-known educators, he understands locale and
environment, whites as well as Indians. In his observations, he
is not only meticulous, but remarkably reliable. The accuracy
of his accounts has particularly impressed me, for I studied the
Yokuts too, between 1900 and 1910, at a time when far more of

PREFACE

In introducing this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* it is prob- 114
ably necessary to state that I was born on the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County and lived the early portion of my life in several localities on the "West Side" of the San Joaquin Valley.

There had been no Indians on the West Side since about 101
1806. They had been stripped from that entire territory from 131
Martinez on the north, to Paleta on the south, and taken to the
Spanish Missions on the coast. However, all along the eastern [797]
edge of the Coast Range foothills, along the San Joaquin River and along the lakes and sloughs from that river southeast to a point south of Bakersfield, there were many evidences of Indian occupation.

Those evidences were in the nature of abandoned village 172
sites: depressions where structures had stood; cemeteries; flat, earthbound rocks, honeycombed with mortars; occasional portable mortars, pestles, metates and manos, beads, arrow and spear points, and heat-shattered cooking rocks.

On the Orestimba, Romero, Garzas and Los Baños Creeks, and along the near-by San Joaquin River were many immense, saucer shaped depressions over which had stood structures of some kind. One of these on Los Baños Creek is more than sixty-five feet across. In the center of these depressions are fire pits, still containing charcoal and heat-shattered rocks.

For those of us who lived on the West Side, these evidences 114
of departed Indians held a great fascination. I can still remember how in 1909 I was thrilled to see my first live Indians. They were camped by the road in the mountains near Strawberry, east of Oakdale.

In 1923, when I first went to Tulare County to live, I was 114
again thrilled to find several Indian families living in primi- 101
tive manner along the banks of the Kaweah River east of 131
Visalia. In October of that year I interviewed my first 114
aged Yokuts, blind Mollie Lawrence. She was a full-blood 115
Wukchumne and was then about ninety-five years of age. I 124
continued to interview Mollie until 1928, when she died. In the

CHAPTER I

YOKUTS GEOGRAPHY

THE YOKUTS INDIANS

101 131 Before the coming of the white man, almost the entire San Joaquin Valley, from the summit of the Coast Range to the upper reaches of the Sierra foothills, from approximately the Cosumne River to Tejon Canyon on the east, and from Martinez to Paleta on the west, was occupied by one of the most interesting North American races of primitive people to be studied by scientists.

[161] 101 These San Joaquin Valley Indians were at one time quite numerous, there probably being within their territory no less than twenty-five thousand persons, all closely related by blood and language. They are known to scientists as *Yokuts,* Yokuts being a word taken from their language and meaning persons, or people. The word is never used in a singular form.

Some tribes, including the *Tachi,* pronounce the word *Yo'-kotch,* but there is little other variation in the pronunciation throughout the entire valley area. They use Yokuts much as we use the word everybody. No Yokuts Indian knows himself as a Yokuts, but readily understands what is meant when it is explained to him how the term is used by scientists.

[619] There were probably at one time as many as fifty subtribes of the Yokuts group. Of those subtribes something is known about the boundaries and life of forty-four.

Because a vast area of the San Joaquin Valley was unoccupied by Indians when they were first studied, there has been some difference of opinion among scientists as to the exact blood and language groups that occupied this great basin. Some authorities have placed several language groups in the northern portion of the valley. But research done by this writer, as well as the many Yokuts tribe names distributed as far north as the Mokelumne and Cosumne rivers, indicates that all occupants of the San Joaquin Valley were Yokuts.

114 The greater part of the information available concerning the Yokuts was obtained from a study of less than a dozen tribes. In fact, almost none of them had been studied and reported upon by scientists before the year 1870.

177 Many of the Yokuts tribes did not come in contact with whites and were not seriously disturbed by western immigration until as late as the early 1860's. This is probably not true to the same extent of so numerous a group of people at any place within our nation. By 1860 many tribes of the eastern and southwestern United States had been disturbed for 250 years. For this reason the leading scientific institutions of the United States are hurrying to gather all possible information concerning these people before the last remnants of the older generation have passed away.

133 103 It is fortunate that the names of a number of the San Joaquin Valley tribes have been preserved, we hope for all time, in the names of some of the rivers and creeks of the San Joaquin Valley. The most northerly of these is the *Cosumne* river. Near it lies the *Mokelumne*, and farther south the *Tuolumne, Chowchilla,* and *Kaweah*.

A few other landmarks have been knowingly or unknowingly named after Indian tribes. *Tehachapi* Valley probably took its name from the native word, *Tah-hi'tch* or *Tah-heetch,* meaning Oak Covered Valley. The Wahtoke district east of Sanger was named for *Wahtoke,* who was chief of the *Choinimne* tribe of Yokuts on Kings River. The Wukchumne Irrigation District and Wukchumne Hill east of Visalia were named for the *Wukchumne* tribe, full-blooded remnants of which still reside on the Kaweah River east of Visalia. Camp Potwishi in Sequoia National Park, was named for the *Pahdwishi* (Pahd'-wih-she) tribe which once lived there. Yokohl valley northeast of Exeter was named for the *Yokodo* tribe, which once occupied it. The Laguna de Tachi Land Grant, surrounding present Laton, was named for the Tachi tribe of Yokuts.

101 177 At the coming of the first American settlers, as early as 1850, and probably long before that time, there were no living Indians occupying the entire west side plains, from Byron on the north to Paleta in Kern County, where the Santa Maria road crosses the Coast Range via Maricopa and the Cuyama Valley.

172 361 The remains which characterize an Indian occupation are quite common throughout the entire west side area. These remains are in the nature of depressions left by their houses or tepes, burial grounds, and debris-scattered camp sites. Throughout this territory thousands of stone implements and weapons have been found, showing that from time to time

the entire area was occupied, although probably not by such 172
great numbers as was the east side of the valley. 361

Concerning these west side tribes there is, of course, 101
practically nothing known. Few hints as to their names and
habits have been left by the Spanish missionaries in their records
concerning the tribes taken from that territory. This
lack of data is due to the fact that the entire west side was [797]
stripped of Indians upon the completion of the missions to the
west, probably before the year 1806. With one or two exceptions,
they never returned to that area, it being too open to the [648]
invasions of the Spanish, whose advances were not welcomed
by those primitive people.

THE NORTHERN YOKUTS

One of the most marked characteristics of the Yokuts 101
people concerned their organization into tribes, and their establishment 131
of definite boundaries for each tribe. This is not
common to all California primitive groups, nor to primitive
groups in other portions of the United States.

Beginning at the northern end of the San Joaquin Valley 101
the tribes were distributed roughly as follows: According to 131
F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of North American Indians,* the
Yachikamni Yokuts occupied the territory surrounding present 619
Stockton. *Tchikimisi,* on the south side of the Cosumne River, 103
and *Tawi,* on the lower San Joaquin River, were Yachikamni 361
villages.

In addition to the Cosumne and Mokelumne who are by some authorities classed as *Miwok,* there were along the Stanislaus river the *Tuolumne,* although their name was given to a river further south. According to J. C. Frémont the *Auxumne* lived on the Merced River. The *Chulamni* are reported on the Stockton plains.

The first tribe about which anything definite is known is
the *Chauchila,* for which the anglicized Chowchilla has been substituted.
These people were the only warlike tribe of Yokuts. [181]
They ranged along the Chowchilla River from the San Joaquin
River on the west to the Sierra foothills on the east.

The *Heuchi* claimed Fresno River from the San Joaquin River to the foothills. Their village of *Chekayu* was located on the north bank of Fresno River, about four miles below present Madera. Above the Heuchi, on the south side of Fresno River, were the *Chukchansi,* a foothill tribe.

101 On the location of the later white village of Bates, on upper
103 Cottonwood Creek, was the Chukchansi village of *Cheyau.*
131 Farther east, and about six miles south of O'Neals, was the vil-
619 lage of *Dinishneu.*

361 The southern Yokuts called the San Joaquin River
[226] *Tihshachu,* meaning salmon spearing place. Indians traveled
great distances to spear salmon on the shallow sand bars there.

On the north side of the San Joaquin River, between the foothills and the Big Bend at Mendota, were the *Hoyima.* About a half mile below the Herndon bridge was the Hoyima village of *Chayo.* Another Hoyima village was located about three miles upstream from the Herndon bridge. It was named *Atabo* (Ah-tah'-bo). On both sides of the San Joaquin, about two miles above Lane's Bridge, was the Hoyima village of *Yimshu.* On the north side of the San Joaquin River and about three miles above the mouth of Big Dry Creek, was the Hoyima village of *Moloyu.*

Across the river from the Hoyima were the *Pitkachi.* On the south side of the San Joaquin River, at the site above the Herminghaus Ranch and known as Rancho de los Californios, was the Pitkachi village of *Gewachiu.* Another of their villages was *Kohuou* (Ko-hoo-o'-oo), located near where the town of Herndon is now.

At the junction of Little Dry Creek and the San Joaquin River were the *Wakichi,* and above them the *Kechayi.* Table Mountain on the south side of the San Joaquin River and upstream from present Millerton Lake in Kechayi land, was called *Tapu Chilow.* South of Table Mountain was the village of *Muhnowlo.* North of Table Mountain, on a large flat by the river where the Indians speared salmon, was the Kechayi village of *Kiahno.* During the time when salmon were running, every bush and most of the ground in the vicinity was red with drying salmon.

East of the Kechayi, on both sides of the San Joaquin were the *Toltichi.*

Opposite the Keychayi were the *Dumna.* Little Table Mountain, on the north side of the San Joaquin River in Dumna land, was called *Shishilu.* South of Little Table Mountain, on a small flat, was the Dumna village of *Chahtaou.* Nearer the river was the village of *Wayahchu.* *Wumwumwus* (Woom-woom'-wus), meaning rock pile, was the Dumna name for the round lava cap a half mile northwest of the Indian settlement

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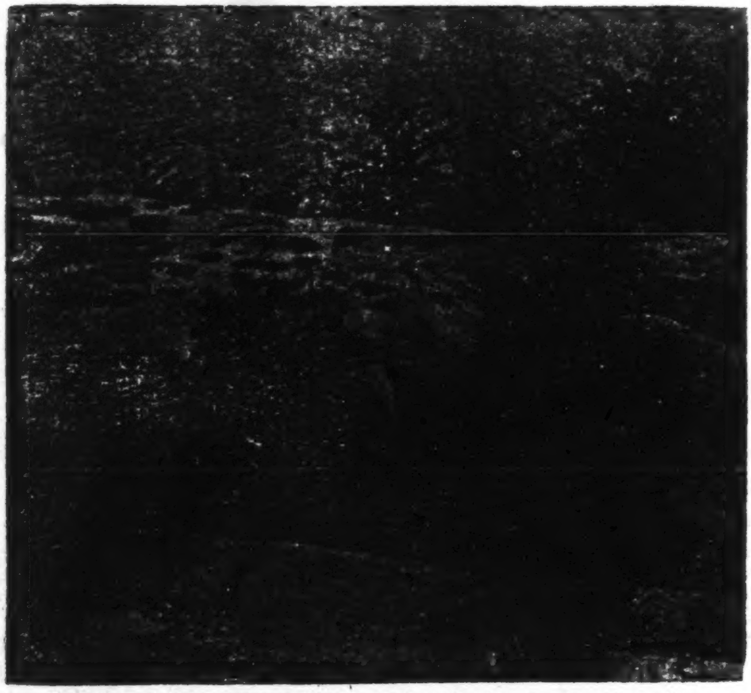

Mortars in the outcropping granite rocks by the San Joaquin River at the edge of the old *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) village of I'-uh-pin. Here the Indian women pounded the acorns which they later made into bread, soup and mush.

[252]

above Friant. White people in that locality call this hill The Pincushion. At the bottom of Lake Millerton and south of the old San Joaquin River channel was the Dumna head village of *Kuyu Illik*. North of the river and below Friant Dam about five miles was the Dumna village of *Iuhpin*. In the bluff above Iuhpin is a cave which the Dumna said had supernatural power and which they called *Ihlip*.

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Between the Kings and San Joaquin Rivers, ranging from the upper foothills down onto the San Joaquin Plains, were the *Gashowu*. The names of two Gashowu villages have been preserved. About two miles above the junction of the Dry Creek and Aubury roads, at an old spring where there are now some fig trees growing, was the village of *Shoko*. On Big Dry Creek,

101 about five miles below Letcher, was the village of *Pohoniu.*
103 Lookout Mountain, south of Big Dry Creek in Gashowu land,
131 was known as *Wamihlow.* Some upright granite outcroppings
on the north slope were known by the same name and were
619 thought to be Indian women who had turned to stone.

361 North of the most northern of the lower Kings River channels, known as Murphy Slough, were the *Apaichi,* a small tribe closely related to the more widely distributed *Tachi,* who occupied the north and west shores of Tulare Lake to the south. The Apaichi village of *Wohui* was located on the north bank of Murphy Slough, about seven miles above its junction with San Jose Slough.

Along the north bank of Kings River near Laton and on nearby Kings River Island were the *Wimilchi.* North of Kings River and about seven miles below Laton was the Wimilchi village of *Ugona.*

Across the river to the south of the Wimilchi were the *Nutunutu.* The Nutunutu village at old Kingston, on the south bank of Kings River a short distance below present Laton, was known as *Kadistin* (Kay-dis'-tin). Across the river and directly west of the Wimilchi village of Ugona was the Nutunutu village of *Chiou.*

On the north bank of Kings River, centering about Sanger, were the *Wechikit* and across the river to the south, the *Aiticha.*

At the junction of Mill Creek and Kings River were the *Choinimni.* In Choinimni land there have been preserved a number of villages and landmarks. Trimmer Springs was known as *Wahkotrow* (Wah-khot'-row) (west center of Section 7, T12S, R25E MDB&M). Dalton Mountain was called *Piakchin;* and Campbell Mountain, *Wahwahlut* (Crying Place). Hughes Creek, the first creek on the north side of Kings River above Del Piedra, was called *Duhniu* (Duh-ni'-oo), meaning Jimson Weed. A village there, near the John Akers home, was known by the same name (Section 4, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). On the south bank of Kings River, a few hundred yards below the mouth of Mill Creek (NW ¼ Section 10, T13S, R24E, MDB&M) was the village of *Shetnow,* meaning Wild Onions. On Mill Creek, about two miles above its mouth, was the village of *Tahshocu,* Mouse Killing Place (SW ¼ Section 11, T13S, R24E, MDB&M). Mill Creek was called *Wokotro,* meaning Where Water Runs in Both Directions. Hughes Mountain and a village on it were known as *Nowuhsun.*

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Mary Tipp, last surviving full-blood of the Nutunutu tribe from lower Kings River.

South of the Choinimni, on Mill Creek, were the *Michahai*. Still farther south near Dunlap were the *Entimbits* (En-tim'-bits), a tribe sometimes classified as Shoshonean. Pine Ridge, due north of Dunlap was called *Lokhoey*, or Deer Place, and was an Entimbits landmark. Sontag Point, east and slightly north of Dunlap was another Entimbits landmark, called *Toyahbe*, meaning Rocky Hill. It has a grey granite outcrop-

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 ping at the west end just before the hill flattens out into a long
131 ridge. The Entimbits called Squaw Valley *Tucheu* (Too-che'-
oo). Mill Creek, where it runs by Dunlap was called *Balwu*
619 (Bahl'-woo), or simply The Stream. The large mountain just
103 southwest of Dunlap store, and in Chukamina territory (north
361 center of Section 10, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Kawis*
by the Entimbits. The long ridge and hill at the west end of the ridge (center of Section 9, T14S, R26E, MDB&M) was called *Hoeyu* (Hoey'-yoo), meaning Deer Mountain. The gulch between the two hills named above was called Balwu, meaning The Stream. Dunlap Valley was called *Tahlow*. On Mill Flat Creek three miles above where it enters Kings River was the village of *Coahme Quate*.

Just west of the Entimbits were the *Chukaimina* (Choo-ki-meen'-uh), the tribe which occupied Squaw Valley. *Mush-tin'-now* was a Chukaimina village two miles directly east of Squaw Valley Corners (center of Section 12, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). Mill Creek between Squaw Valley Corners and Dunlap was called Balwu. A Chukaimina village on highway No. 180 (SW ¼ Section 35, T13S, R25E, MDB&M) was called *Tucheu* (Too-che'-oo). The creek south of this village was called *To'-chim Bahl'-woo*. A small divide or pass just west of Tucheu was called *Mimliu* (Mim'-le-oo).

The ridge running north and south just east of Squaw Valley, Ruth Hill, was called *Gowpinow*. Baldy, the round pointed high hill at the north end of Gowpinow (SW ¼ Section 1, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was named *Pusutow* (Poo-soo'-tow). The ridge just north of Pusutow was named *Pokololo*. Squaw Valley was known by the name of the principal Chukaimina village, Mushtinow. When the white people first settled in Squaw
622 Valley the Chukaimina Chief was named *Jungkush*. From
1870 on until the tribe was broken up, the chief was *Puslilin* (Poos-lil'-in). He died about 1900. Both he and Jungkush are buried at Mushtinow. Bear Mountain (NW ¼ Section 5, T14S, R25E, MDB&M) was known as *Wihshalu* (Wih-shay'-loo).

A small village, occupied in the spring for gathering seeds, was located southeast of Squaw Valley Corners (north of center of Section 15, T14S, R25E, MDB&M). It was named *Taht-chahmew* (Taht-chah'-mew), meaning Left-handed Place. Drumm Valley was named *Chasheu* (Cha-she'-oo) by the Chukaimina.

The Indians in Drumm Valley were known to the Chukai- 101
mina as *Wechiket*. This tribe also lived on the Kings River 131
bottom around where Sanger and Centerville are now. Drumm 103
Valley was their summer camping grounds. 619

The San Joaquin Valley, like any other large, open valley,
was called *Chawdawno* (Chaw-daw'-no), *Chaw-law'-no*, or 361
Traw-law'-no, according to the tribal dialect.

In the entire San Joaquin Valley there was probably no more thickly settled district than that surrounding Tulare Lake and the Kaweah River branches, and certainly none more suited to the needs of primitive man. Along the northeastern shore of Tulare Lake were the *Chunut*. These people ranged from the lake shore up the four lower channels or creeks of the Kaweah to a point approximately opposite the present village of Paige, five miles west of Tulare. Above the Chunut the four creeks were occupied by three tribes.

Cross, Mill, and Packwood creeks were occupied by the *Telamni*. This tribe had a large rancheria, the site of which is now probably within the present Visalia city limits.

Cameron Creek was occupied by the *Wolasi*. *Dawaw Nawshid*, the principal village of this tribe, was five miles east of Visalia at a mound once occupied by the home of the Broder family. Another village four miles south of present Farmersville was called *Chuntow*.

Outside and Deep Creeks were occupied by the *Choinok* (Choi'-nock). Their greatest population was probably near the junction of the two channels, but the only village within their territory the name of which is known, is *Cheuta* (Che'-uta), near the present city of Tulare.

At the site of Terminus Beach on the Kaweah river above Lemon Cove two tribes had permanent villages. On the north side of the river were the *Gawia*, or Kaweah. On the south bank was the Wukchumne village of *Coach-nah'-meu*. The main Kaweah Yokuts village was on the north bank of St. Johns branch of the Kaweah river just below the Venice Hills (SW ¼, Section 17, T18S, R26E, MDB&M). The name was *Kaweah*, meaning Raven.

Colvin Mountain was known as *Chadip Wishow*. Smith Mountain, northeast of Dinuba, was named *Wukmudno*.

South of the Kaweah were the *Yokodo*, after which Yokohl Valley was named. The Yokodo village on the south bank of the Kaweah at the Lime Kiln (NE ¼ Section 35, T17S, R27E,

101 MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud.* Northeast of present Mer-
131 riman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo
village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village
103 on the sand flats across the river to the north was called
619 *Unow* (Oo'-now).

The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of
361 the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah
River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course
was later established (SW¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest por-
tion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6,
T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido,* mean-
317 ing Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that
438 they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it
386 for making white paint.

The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wukchumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a Wukchumne village known as *Gotow.* Slick Rock, on the
Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin,* mean-
776 ing Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named
Ahdit Wisha. It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under
823 Pahdin and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned
them. Pahdin was the extreme upstream limits of the Wukchumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called *Mawyucaw,* Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of Limekiln Creek. About one mile north of Mawyucaw (west portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called *Shuckoyu,* meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called *Chowpow.* *Tiupinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill, which

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

is near the depot at Lemon Cove. Near the bridge across the 101
Kaweah River on the road between Woodlake and Lemon Cove 103
was a salt spring which the Wukchumne called *Tushow* (ow as 131
in cow). They obtained salt by boiling and evaporating the 619
water.

Three miles northeast of Woodlake, the Pohut home, (NW [258]
¼ of Section 28, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was *Tahponguh*, or 361
Buckeye Springs.

The small lone hill, about a half mile southeast of Lind Cove, was known as *Kowichow* (Kow-ih'-chow).

The mixed color paintings on Bacon Hill, north of Red- [531]
banks, and the hill itself, were called *Hucha Ingutch*, meaning
Writings.

About one-half mile west of Woodlake is a low swale run-
ning north and south. It was named *Ahd-tow*, meaning Salt [137]
Gathering Place. Salt grass still grows in the bottom of it.

At the east end of the straight stretch of pavement leading
east from Woodlake is a small flat, below a very rocky gulch
(NW ¼ of Section 33, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). This was a
favorite place for gathering grass nuts (*kawatchip*). It was
named *Kawatch Pawme*. In the old days there was a fine spring
there. About three hundred yards northeast, and uphill
from Kawatch Pawme, is a small flat called *Hawyaw Heitch*. [776
A mythological spirit guarded the spring there and claimed 823]
that he could hear whenever anyone spoke his name. The name
means Name Calling Place.

On the Dry Creek Road, which runs north from the bridge
across the Kaweah River between Woodlake and Lemon Cove,
are several Indian landmarks. To the north, as this road leaves
the hills and starts across the first small valley, (west portion
of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) there is an old acorn-
grinding site. It is about seventy-five yards west of the road [415
and is marked by granite rocks containing many acorn pound- 252]
ing mortars. Its name was *Pachakish* (Pah-chah'-kish). Due
north of this site, at the end of the straight stretch of road is
a small bare hill which was called *Tacayu* (Tah-cah'-yoo).

West of Tacayu about a mile and a half is a spring which was known as *Shuquoyun* or Elk Place. It is at the foot of the grade leading to the Pohut place and Buckeye Springs (Tahponguh). In the hills just east of Lemon Cove (SW¼ of Section 1, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) there was a fine spring and a village named Choyo. Over the hill southeast of Lemon Cove

101 was the village of *Ustunu* (Oo'-stoo-noo). At the Lime Kiln
103 Hill above Lemon Cove, on the south bank of the river (NW ¼
131 of Section 35, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was the village of
Hososhud. On the northeast slope of WukchumneHill at Lem-
619 on Cove, and extending to the northeast, was the Wukchumne
361 village of *Shonoyu*.

[776 North of Woodlake (SW ¼ of Section 13, T17S, R26E,
MDB&M) is a small, rocky, lone hill. It was named *Bawsu*,
823] meaning Hollow. A spirit was thought to live inside of it.
Back of the rocky range of hills north of Bawsu was a village
[137] named *Awnew*. A dwarf variety of tule, known as *awn*, grew
there. This site is at an old homestead settled in early days by "Mitch" Work (NW ¼ of Section 18, T17S, R27E, MDB&M).

In the edge of the hills north of Antelope Valley, northeast of Woodlake about five miles, was the most northerly village of the Wukchumne (SW ¼ of Section 17, T17S, R27E, MDB&M). It was named *Wuknaw* and was an important
[415 antelope hunting and seed gathering place. The site is marked
by many mortars cut into the outcropping granite by ages of
252] acorn pounding. The high peak northeast of Wuknaw one mile was called *Tuyow* because an Indian hunter was once accidentally shot there with an arrow (*tuyosh*).

About one-half mile west of Wuknaw was a village named *Wipanche*. There was a spring at the site which was at the edge of a hill. At the site of the old Toler home, one-half mile northeast of Woodlake, is a small granite rock-topped knoll which was named *Koseu* (Ko-se'-oo).

Above Lemon Cove several miles, and north of the highway (SW ¼ of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a landmark known as Eagle Ridge which ends in a peak which the Wukchume called *Teduntow*, meaning Rolling Down Place. This name resulted when an Indian gambler was killed as he tried to roll down the hill to win a bet. Eagle Ridge slopes down to the north bank of Kaweah River where it ends in a bluff. The Wukchumne called this place *Otoy Yahsid*, meaning Falling Off Place. As two Indian friends were looking over the bluff, one pushed the other, who fell into the river and was drowned.

Rocky Hill east of Exeter was named by the Yokodo, *Chahka Shahna*, meaning Live Oak Place.

The village of *Moiyuk* was located at the pointed hill northeast of Lemon Cove, (SE ¼ of Section 35, T17S, R27E,

MDB&M). A village at the bridge across the Kaweah River 101
between Lemon Cove and Woodlake was named *Hawcunu*. The 103
name of Limekiln Creek was *Chahka Ushu*. The highest peaks 131
just east of the Lime Kiln (NW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, 619
MDB&M) were named *Iago*.

The village on the "sand flats" on the north bank of the 361
Kaweah River at Lime Kiln was named *Unow* (Oo'-now). The little pass through which the highway cuts just east of Lemon Cove (SW ¼ of Section 36, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Woidunit*.

A hill close to the north side of the Kaweah River, (SW ¼
of Section 25, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) was called *Chiishe* 825
(Chi-ish'-e) meaning Dog, because it was thought that a wild
dog lived in a hole there. The beautiful valley of Lemon Cove was occupied by the Wukchumne.

On the north and west shores of Tulare Lake were the Tachi. They occupied a large territory, extending over the Kettleman Hills and Plains to the upper foothills west of Kettleman Plains. On the west shore of Tulare Lake, where Kettlemen City was later located, was the Tachi village of *Walna*. Another Tachi village was *Waiu*, where the Santa Rosa Indian settlement is now located south of Lemoore. West of the mouth of Kings River and about eight miles northwest of Waiu was *Heinlen Chi*. At Huron was *Golon*, and five miles southwest was *Udjiu*, known to whites as the Poso Chané.

THE WEST SIDE YOKUTS

As has been before stated, our knowledge of the Indians 101
is a blank concerning almost the entire west side territory from the northern range of the *Tachi*, which would be at about a point opposite Coalinga, to old Point of Timber, near where the city of Byron is now located.

Deeming this to be a regrettable fact, I have been ever on the alert for any suggestions which might lead to the obtaining of the names of any of the Indian villages or tribes within this territory. It must be admitted that during more than twenty-five years of such effort very little information has been obtained. That little is related to only three localities.

The locality around present Coalinga was called *Chahki*, 101
meaning asphaltum, by the surrounding Yokuts tribes because 317
of the deposits of asphaltum there. The Yokuts made pilgrim-

● 10 The Yokuts made pilgrim-
31 ages there for the purpose of gathering asphaltum for mending
[484] and waterproofing their equipment. . The Indian children used it for chewing gum.

East of the city of Coalinga there is an old Mexican settle-
101 ment which, since an early period in the Spanish settlement of
103 California, has been known as the *Poso Chaná.* Several dif-
131 ferent derivations and meanings have been suggested concerning this name.

361 While questioning an old Spaniard who was visiting relatives in upper Antelope Valley in northwestern Kern County, I asked, "What is the meaning of *Chaná?*" The answer was direct and definite. "It is the name of the tribe of Indians which lived there before the coming of the Spaniards." This man was Mr. Theodoro Larios, who was born in the little village of San Juan Bautista in 1860 and whose grandfather had charge of more than a thousand Indians while the mission at that place was being built.

After the mission was completed the elder Larios assisted in removing the Indians from the west side of the San Joaquin Valley and remembered distinctly having taken the Indians from the village of *Udjiu* (Ood'-ge-oo) which was settled at that time by the Spaniards and re-named by them after the people who were being removed, the Chaná Indian tribe. The water hole at that place led to the Spanish name Poso, or water hole, and was also an inducement to the Spanish to settle there.

During November of 1930 I obtained from ***Pahmit,*** an old ***Dumna*** Indian of Friant on the San Joaquin River, the name of the tribe which occupied the San Joaquin River below the ***Pitkachi*** and around the towns of Mendota and Firebaugh. According to his statement the tribe was known as the *Kahwatch'-wah,* meaning Grass Nut People. Pahmit furnished the only first-hand information I have obtained about the Indians of the West Side between Panoche and Romero Creeks, a distance of about thirty miles. As all other data gathered from him has proved accurate, we will read his story. I have corrected some of his broken English:

159 "When I was boy one strange Indian came to live with my father. He was 'bout fifty years old. I was 'bout ten. We call that Indian *Tukwhel* (Toó-kwheel). That means West. We call him that because he came from the West. His right name was *So-pah'-no.* He was born at an Indian village on Los

Baños Creek. When we sit around our camp-fire he tells us lots 159
stories 'bout his people.

"When I 'bout twenty-five years old I drive ten mules freight team to Stockton. I do that 'bout ten years. I go two or three times with mules freight team to Gilroy after freight. That way we go over Pacheco Pass. That time Pacheco Pass was bad road. We hate to drive mules team over that road. When Sopahno real old man he go with me lots times on them trips. He cook and help me harness mules. He tell me all 'bout West Side and 'bout his people there.

"One night we camp at Los Baños Creek, where old freight 361
road cross. We camp early, so Sopahno take me down to old
village place where he born. He show me where his father
used to live. He tell me all 'bout his people.

"Sopahno said his tribe name was Ka-watch'-wah. They 159
live on west side of San Joaquin River, from below Firebaugh 101
'bout five miles down to north Los Baños town, north where 103
San Luis Creek runs into San Joaquin River. They live too in
the west hills all along from Panoche to north of San Luis 131
Ranch. San Luis Creek all belong to Kahwatchwa. Their home 361
villages both on Los Baños Creek, one at hills and one at San
Joaquin River.

"Sopahno's village, *Kah-to'-mah,* was 'bout two hundred
yards from San Joaquin River [here Pahmit undoubtedly
meant one of the sloughs west of the river] on south bank Los
Baños Creek. We walk down there from our camp on old
freight road in 'bout ten minutes. He show me his father's
house. It was big hole in ground, lots bigger than our houses 159
up at *Kuyu Illik* (Koo-yoo Ill-ik). We sit on side Sopahno's
old home and he tell me how Spanish take him to Mission San 648
Juan when he just 'bout twelve-fifteen years old. 797

"One morning early they all asleep when they hear big noise, lots shoot, lots yell. Lots Indian run away in tules. Spanish shoot, kill lots Indian men, women. They kill Sopahno's father. His mother run away in tules. Spanish take 'bout twenty-thirty Indian boys and girls.

"Sopahno stay at Mission San Juan 'bout twenty years. Then the priests tell Indian, 'You all go away from Mission. You all go back your homes.' Then all Indian go away from San Juan.

"Sopahno come back to his old home. There's nobody 159
there. Indian all gone, Indian house all burned long ago. He

159 go horseback. He go up Los Baños Creek to hills. He go up river 'bout fifteen miles. There's no Indian anywhere. He go cross Fish Slough to California Ranch and see some Indian spear salmon in San Joaquin River. He talk to them Indian. They talk almost like his old mother and father. He understand everything they say. He tell them everything. He talk to my father. My father say, 'You come to our rancheria, live with us.' He live with us 'til he was old man, 'bout eighty-five maybe ninety years old. He die 'bout three days after first train go across railroad bridge on San Joaquin River. We all go down see that first train go across that bridge. When Sopahno see that he say, 'Now, I see everything. Now I'm gonna die.' And he did die after 'bout three days.

101 "When we go Gilroy, Sopahno tell me more Kahwatchwah
names. They call Indian tribe to north *Ho-no-um'-ne.* Indian
159 to south they called *Tucuyu.* They go from Kawatchwah south
103 to *Apeche* (Ah-pe'-che) 'bout old Casa Blanca where Tran-
quality now. One their villages, name *Kahwahchu* [meaning
[361] Grass Nut Place] was right where they had that Mexican town,
Las Juntas, just where Fish Slough and San Joaquin River go
together. White people put big dam there in San Joaquin
River.

[161] "When I little boy there just few them people left, maybe
two, maybe three, live at Millerton with my people. Once, when
159 I 'bout six, seven years old they want to go back to Kahwahchu
769 to have one more big dance for dead people. They go. 'Bout
fifteen, twenty our people go. My grandpa, Tomkit, he chief
with Dumnas, he go. He help 'em make dance.. I go too.

"Old Chief Tucuyu, he go too. He been chief with that Tucuyu tribe before he go to missions. He want to see his old place once more. He live in mountains south of Bakersfield. He got place there he call Tucuyu too. When he go there from missions, he name it after his old people south Las Juntas.

"We stay there one week and have dance for dead people.
[648] Mexicans there make trouble for us. They 'fraid we gonna
maybe steal cattle, maybe hurt somebody. So we never go
back again. Tucuyu big people once. They talk just like my
159 people. Once used to be Kahwatchwah village at San Luis
361 Ranch, where we stop all night when we drivin' mules freight
team. It by San Luis ranch house. They call it *Hah-no'-mah.*
Pacheco Pass they call *Lees-na'-yah.* One night we stop our
mules team at Salt Slough [due east of the present town of

direction is not given. We can only reason that it must have 175 been to the southeast. Nearby was "the rancherie of *Malim.*"

From these last places Pico "traveled south of the Tulare about eight leagues and turned eastward to the San Joaquin River." This statement does much to fix Pico's position. So far he had been west of Salt, Santa Rita, and/or Hildreth Sloughs. If he first attacked a village near the present Santa Rita Rancho Headquarters, he would now be in the vicinity of Poso Farm near present Firebaugh. Across the river Pico saw several Indian settlements, which he did not name.

From this last location Pico sent "Corporal Juarez with ten men to reconnoiter around the Rancherie called Aopicha. We then traveled south easterly and came upon eleven horses at the river bend where the San Joaquin and the San Jose meet," recorded Pico. This is definitely the present Mendota Dam site. "They belonged to the Tape Rancherie close by." *Tape* was undoubtedly the Indian name of the later notorious *mestizo* village of Las Juntas.

This same night sixty-five head of horses were stolen back from Pico by surrounding Indians. Sergeants Juarez, Olivera and Arroyo were sent out with ten men "to hunt them up." Juarez recovered thirty-eight horses and reported having seen horse tracks "entering the draw [Big Panoche Pass—?] in the direction of Solidad."

Wrote Pico about Tape, or Te-pe, as it was called by the Indians, "Here we captured three old gentile men and a Santa Cruz christian besides eight old women. Here we found 238 slaughtered horses with immense quantities of boiled jerky, [251] and 16 live horses, some tame and wounded with arrows and in poor flesh. Most of these stock belonged to San Juan mission."

In checking the above Indian names with those furnished 101 by Pahmit, it will be noticed that only one name is similar in 103 both accounts, the Ah-pe'-che of Pahmit, and Pico's Aopicha. We have definite information about the Apaiche who were referred to by Pahmit and who once lived near present Helm. This is undoubtedly the tribe referred to by Pico, or one of their villages.

Having been born on the bank of the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County, I have always been interested in the derivation of that name, but it was not until the summer of 1930 that this information was forth-coming. It was obtained

101 from Jose Antonio Aguila, a descendant of the Cantua after
103 whom was named the Cantua Creek in western Fresno County.

When the Indians on the Orestimba Creek were first ap-
101 proached by the Spanish and an attempt made to take them to
103 the mission, they showed unmistakable signs of hostility, which
648 decided the small party of Spanish to leave them until the following year. The Priests held a long discussion with the chiefs. They pointed out the many advantages of going to the missions. The Indians refused to go, so the priests and soldiers planned to return the following spring with a stronger force and meet the Indians at the same spot where the conference was then taking place. This was agreed to by the Indians, as they pointed to the ground and said, "*'Oh-rays-teem'-bah,'*" meaning we meet here again. From this I was assured by Mr. Aguila that the present name of *Orestimba* was taken.

127 In going through many records relating to the Indians of the San Joaquin I have found only one reference to the Orestimba. In October of 1810 Father Jose Viader led an expedition westward from Santa Clara Mission to the junction of the Merced and San Joaquin Rivers. His chief account, with a few parenthetical notes by me, follows:

"Diario de una Entrada

175 "Before arriving to the junction of the Merced and San
127 Joaquin [site of the old river village of Hill's Ferry, three miles east of present Newman] we encountered some deep dry creeks on the NW [SW] side of the San Joaquin. In about 2½ leagues we reached the spot where we had the fight with some natives—we saw but one Indian here and that was at a long distance.

"This place has tall pines—[the upper Orestimba Creek has tall pines and evidence of a large Indian village, which is undoubtedly referred to here]—Flood waters do not reach here—but the soil is very poor—has sufficient wood and good pasture—but there is no rock nearer than the mountains three leagues distant to the West—[the father had his eyes open for a Mission site]. From here in the evening following the same distance we reached a place fronting the rancherie of the *Tona-la-mos* Indians — [could this be Pahmit's Honoumne tribe?]—about three leagues—The guide was of their tribe and called by him to come over, they would not come—said they

were afraid. Before arriving near the *Apelamenes* rancherie, 175
near a dry creek named *Ores timac* there is also tall pine [must 127
mean sycamore] and the soil the same as the spot described where we had the fight. [This is undoubtedly the difficulty referred to by Mr. Aguila.]

"The Indians, fearing our object was to capture them and take them to the mission, so they would not come out—it being late we went back to our old camping place and there spent the night without any water for our stock—This was the dry creek and canyon of Corpus Cristi.

"From this place traveling northeast we arrived at a place called "El Toro"—[probably refers to the present well known "Bull Heads"] there we ate and nooned—In the evening we arrived at a little valley 6 leagues NW from the nooning place [probably upper Crow Creek] where we found several water holes and named the place San Guillermo - - - - .

"From San Guillermo we traveled in the same direction, another 6 leagues and came to the rancherie of the *"Palenos"* where we nooned and in the evening still traveling NW in about 5 leagues we arrived here at Santa Clara hale and hearty 'Thank God'.

Fr. Jose Viader"

According to Dr. A. L. Kroeber, of the University of Cali- 114
fornia, the San Luis Valley and the Pacheco Pass west of the 127
San Luis Ranch were held by the *Lis-nay'-yuk.* Earlier in this account Pahmit referred to this as the name of Pacheco Pass and not as a tribe name.

Such is the meager information concerning the entire West 127
Side which the writer has been able to obtain during many years of inquiry. The extent of the loss of historical data in that area can only be appreciated by one who has studied the Yokuts Indians while they were living in their native land. On Kern, Tule, Kaweah, Kings and San Joaquin Rivers we know that it was almost impossible to move a mile in any direction without encountering a village site or an historic landmark of some sort which bore a name, or about which was told some interesting legend.

THE SOUTHERN YOKUTS

The lower portion of Tule River where it entered Tulare 101
Lake was held by the *Chunut* tribe. These people ranged up

101 the Tule to a point approximately three miles west of where the Southern Pacific Railroad crosses that stream north of Tipton.

From there to the present town of Porterville the channel
101 of the Tule was occupied by the *Koyeti* tribe. The chief village
103 was called *Chokowesho* (Cho-ko-we'-sho) and was situated on
131 the north bank of Tule River within a fraction of a mile of the
present Porterville city limits. It is probable that the Koyeti
361 did not range further upstream than Chico Flats, a short distance above the city of Porterville. On Deer Creek, just below the crossing of the upper road (at the old Tatman Ranch home) was the old Koyeti Yokuts village of *Chetetik Nowsuh.*

The Village on the north slope of the high hill about three miles southeast of Plano (south central portion of Section 4, T22S, R28E, MDB&M. The Walter Richardson home stands on the site of this village) was called *Tenalu* (Te-na'-loo) by the Koyeti. The name of the hill (Sections 8 and 9, T22S, R28E, MDB&M was *Pala Natsa.* The small isolated hill about one mile directly east of Plano (NW ¼ of Section 6, T22E, R28E, MDB&M) was known as *Chewil Tinin,* meaning Cottontail's Home. It was also a station from which the Koyeti sent smoke signals.

Fountain Springs, east of Ducor, was known to the Koyeti as *Kahlitkow.* Willow Springs, three miles northwest of Woody, was called *Sanow* (Sah'-now) *Witow* by the Koyeti and *Bokninuwad.*

Coyote Springs, north of Willow Springs and south of Fountain Springs, bore the name of *Kiwin Ilkow.* It had the same meaning as the white man's name. According to *Chamsah,* an aged Koyeti, this name and the names of other landmarks nearby were adopted by the whites from the Indians who were shearing sheep there. The Bokninuwad knew Coyote Springs as *Tiwahnah,* meaning Gaming Tray Place, because the women of that tribe used to visit there to play their dice game.

Northeast of Fountain Springs about four miles is a long mountainous ridge running almost north and south. It was named *Kiahlu* (Ki-ah'-loo), or Lookout Mountain, because they used it for sending smoke signals. A Koyeti village of the same name was located at the south end of this ridge. A rocky gap about one-half mile west of the north end of *Kiahlu* was called *Pahpahwits.* A village and a spring of the same name

were located about two miles south of Pahpahwits, where the 101
John Hewey Ranch home has been for many years. Looking 103
north from Pahpahwits and about three miles distant is a long
mountain running northeast and southwest. It was named 131
Ahsaw. A village and a spring south of the west end of Ahsaw 361
were known by the same name.

Hawscheu (Haws-che'-oo) is a village at the old Hocket Ranch on lower White River just above where the old stage road crossed.

Paralleling the Fountain Springs—Deer Creek Road and about one-half mile east of it, is a long ridge, beginning on the north in a small rocky hill which slopes upward toward the south to end in a high rock-capped mountain. The Indians called this ridge Sleeping Bear, or *N'hawn Wawyen*, and the north rocky peak was *N'hawn Utaway*, meaning Bear's Head.

From the above point east and north, occupying the northern branch of Tule River, were the *Yaudanchi*. East of Porterville about four miles, and north of Monache Golf Links is a large rocky hill, on the lower slopes of which was once located a granite quarry. Nearby a gulch leads to the level land below. On this gulch was located the Koyeti Yokuts village of *Trawoio* (Traw-oi'-o). This same rocky hill sweeps around to the east and southeast, the surface changing to a dark red rock, ending at the southeast (north center of Section 34, T21S, R28E, MDB&M) in a high, rocky peak which has a few scrub oaks on the northern slope. The Yaudanchi called this high peak *Pahnoski* (Pahn-oh'-ski), meaning Fly's Home.

There was a large Yaudanchi village between the forks of the lower branches of Tule River. It was named *Chamiktu* (Cha'-mik-too).

On Tule River Reservation, about one-half mile below the Soto place on the north side of the creek, was the village of *Pahawuhtin* (Paw-haw'-wuh-tin), meaning Weasel's Hole, because there is a hole in the rock there.

On the north fork of Tule River near Bartlett Park is a very black hill having a long string of black rocks running from it eastward toward the river. It was named *Chowmiktow*, meaning Black Hill. *Ketilmuh* was a Yaudanchi summer village at Camp Nelson on upper Middle Tule River. About two miles north of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation is a pointed mountain named *Mowitnuh* (Mow-it'-nuh).

101 The waterfall on South Tule River, just below the Painted
Rock, was called *Huhonanshe* (Hoo-ho-nahn'-she). There
103 was once a village there having the same name. Between the
131 forks of Tule River and South Tule is a small round hill which
361 was known as *Tonawuhchin* (To-naw-uh'-chin), meaning Indian
Undertaker. A village just below it was known by the same
name.

The high rocky butte a little southeast of the Painted Rocks on upper Tule River Indian Reservation was named *Ketelmun* (Ke-teel'-mun). The Painted Rock was called *Hocheu* (Ho-che'-oo). Soda Springs, below the Painted Rock, was known as *Tihtih Ilkow.* A small soda spring, about one-fourth mile below the above Soda Springs, and in the south bank of the river, was called *Ipew.* The large ridge lying between the Painted Rock Fork and Bone Canyon Fork of Tule River was named *Katilmuh.* On the upper portion of Katilmuh was Eagles Spring, or *Trok'-e-lin Ill'-kow.* About a mile above the Painted Rock, near the dam in Tule River, is a place where whirlwinds form. It was named *Sokwin Tindu.*

Soksouh (Sok-so'-uh) is the name of a bad, supernatural
[776 spirit, and was applied to the large figure painted on the ceiling
532] of the Painted Rock at Tule River Indian Reservation. This
painting resembles the stretched skin of a mountain lion holding the sun in its mouth.

South of the Yaudanchi, on upper Deer Creek and upon south Tule were the Bokninuwad. Practically nothing is known of this tribe, except that their name means Finders, Keepers.

Further south of the Bokninuwad on upper White River and possibly Rag Gulch were the *Kumachisi* (Koo-mah-che'-se). About two miles above the village of White River, in the stream bed, is a large flat rock about which the Kumachisi Yokuts told an interesting story. The rock was called *Towuhwuts.* About three hundred yards farther up the river, and on the north bank, was the Kumachisi village of *Kelseu.* The Kumachisi village of *Kayte Ilkow* was located where the white village of Woody is now. It was named for the nearby sulphur spring. Kayte Ilkow means Stinking Water.

White people probably adopted the Indian name for Deer Creek, as old Indians have stated that they called it *Hoeyin Tultuh,* or Deer Canyon.

Kawlpawpuh was the name of an old Kumachisi village

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Site of the old Indian village of **Kawipawpuh** (NW¼ of the NE¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M), named for the wild gourds which grew there in abundance and which the Indian children used for footballs. The site is on Cedar Creek about four miles below Glennville. Many inter-tribal football games were held on this field, players coming from as far away as Tulare Lake, Kings River and Tejon Canyon.

[526]

and game grounds on Cedar Creek about five miles below Glennville (NW ¼ of the NE ¼ of Section 12, T26S, R30E, MDB&M). It was named for the wild gourds which grew there and with which the Indian children played football. About two miles north of the village of White River is a high rocky hill which was named *Waytupkul*.

On upper Grizzly Gulch, about one mile below the Blue Mountain Mine, where the gulch has been dug up by mining, was a Kumachisi village known as *Trahntrahnu*. Grizzly Gulch was known as *N'hawn Tultuh*, meaning the same as the present name. On Grizzly Gulch, just below where the Woody-White River road now crosses, was the Kumachese village of *Wuknaw*.

On Poso Creek there were a number of villages of the *Paleuyami*. In Lynns Valley, on the west branch of Poso Creek, was the village of *Hulmiu*. At Poso Flats, just below the upper forks of Poso Creek, were two Paleuyami villages, on the west side of the creek, *Siketepo* (Sick-e-te'-po) and on the east side, *Bakeu*. Further south, between Poso Creek and Kern River, where their channels approach closest to each other, was

101 the village of *Altau,* now known as Rancheria. On the north
103 bank of Kern River proper, in the extreme south-eastern cor-
131 ner of Paleuyami territory, was situated the village of *Shoko.*

361 On the road leading west, and about three and one-half miles below Woody, in Paleuyami territory, is an old spring named *Chawlul Ilkow,* or White Water. It was used as a stopping place on the old trail which led from Poso Creek via Willow Springs, Coyote Springs and Fountain Springs to Tule River.

415 About a mile below Chawlul Ilkow and within a few feet of the present road there are some flat granite outcroppings which have many Indian mortars cut into them. In the gulch below are some cottonwood and willow trees. The village there was known as *Lapah Ilkow,* or Cottonwood Water. About one-fourth mile south are two large springs. This site was named *Lip'-trow* because of a medicinal root of that name which was harvested there.

487 The old Indian trail from Poso Flats east to Little Poso was known as *Walwalu* (Wahl-wahl'-oo). It lay about one mile southwest of the present road and was parallel to it.

Rag Gulch was called *Baake* (Ba-a'-ke). At a fine spring on lower Rag Gulch, below Willow Springs, was a village of the same name.

Three miles southwest of the Long Tom Mine in Paleuyami territory was a village named *Wahkoiu* (Wah-koy'-oo).

Sansanu (Sahn-sahn'-oo) was the name of the bald ridge west of the junction of Poso and Little Poso. A village at the forks went by the same name. Poso Creek was known as Sik-etepo. Little Poso Creek was known as *Kawlkalu* (Kawl-kah'-loo). A village at the old Burke Ranch on Little Poso Creek, was known by the same name as the creek. *Hawewel* was a small hill just west of Altau where the Paleuyami mined a red earth paint pigment called *Haweyu.*

South of the Paleuyami, on lower Kern River, and probably as far south at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, were the Yowlumne (Yowl-um'-ne). On the old channels of Kern River, probably within the present city limits of Bakersfield, was the Yowlumne village of *Woilo.* This tribe is treated more completely in a separate chapter.

On the southeastern shore of Tulare Lake about the mouths of Poso Creek and White River, and occupying the island in that lake which was later known as Atwell Island, were the

Wowol (Wo'-wol). Their principal village, *Sukwutnu* (Sook- 101
woot'-noo), was approximately fifteen miles due west of the 103
present city of Delano. On Atwell Island, present Alpaugh, 131
was the village of *Chawlowin* (Chaw-lo'-win), meaning City of
the Plains. There are probably no other known village-site 361
names of this tribe.

On Kern River, below the Yowlumne, and on Buena Vista and Bull Sloughs leading from Buena Vista Lake past Goose Lake toward Tulare Lake, were the *Tuhohi*.

The northern and eastern shore of Kern Lake was occupied by the *Hometwoli*. Three of their village sites are known. *Loasau* was located on an early channel of Kern River, three miles north of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Pohalin* was about the same distance south of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Halau* was on Old River channel, just before it entered Kern Lake Slough, between Kern and Buena Vista Lakes. This was the site of the later Mexican settlement known as La Consuela.

The territory south and west of Buena Vista Lake was occupied by the *Tulamni* tribe. These people ranged as far north as McKittrick, near where the village of *Wogatiu* was situated. At Bitter Water Creek near Taft was the village of *Hoschiu*. At the northwestern point of Buena Vista Lake was their main village, known as *Tulamniu* (Too-lahm'-ne-oo).

This last place is well known as the site excavated during [114] the winter of 1933-'34 by the Smithsonian Institution. Details of this work are covered in Bulletin 130, Bureau of American Ethnology, titled *Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake, Kern County, California*, by Waldo R. Wedel. Buena Vista Lake was known by the same name as the Buena Vista Hills and the village between the hills and the lake, Tulamniu.

THE RIVER PEOPLE

The dress and habits of primitive people vary largely according to the nature of the country in which they live and the 184 animal and plant life upon which they must subsist. It is readily recognized not only that the Eskimo was forced to dress more warmly than the Yokuts Indians, but also that he had available many materials from which to prepare clothing not available to San Joaquin Valley tribes. The same thing might also be said about the food of the two peoples. To a lesser degree the Yokuts tribes themselves differed according to the

184 territory in which they lived. On the basis of their differences,
they are readily classified into three types of cultures.

Probably the most numerous and important of these cultures
101 was one which we will call the River Culture. Typical of
619 this culture were the *Nutunutu* of Kings River near Laton, the
184 *Telumne* of Mill Creek where Visalia now stands, the *Kaweah* of the Venice or Kaweah Hills district north of Exeter, and the *Yowlumne* of Kern River. These people were probably more abundantly supplied with fish, game and plant food than were any of the others. They lived among beautiful surroundings and were noted for the beautiful designs and wonderful workmanship of their basketry. These river people were at home beside these broad quiet streams beneath the oak trees which towered often one hundred and fifty feet in the air, and among whose branches the woodpecker, blue jay, wood duck, magpie and dozens of other birds were constantly clamoring. They lived in permanent houses and wandered about but little. During the acorn season a few of them might go to the mountains for several weeks. From time to time they might take part with some of the tribes to the south in surrounding antelope, or driving jack rabbits, but they were not a migratory people. Probably
[484] seventy-five per cent of their number lived to a ripe old age without ever having been as much as fifteen miles from the place where they were born.

101 These river tribes were the most affluent of the three cultures.
181 Historical data preserved would indicate that they were probably
184 more intelligent than the other tribes as well as more friendly and dependable.
619 Although practically all of the Yokuts were noted for their friendly, open disposition, the river tribes were probably more playful, jolly, hospitable and happy-go-lucky than were any of the others. Living in one place
[146] among plenty, they were also more likely to become burdened with flesh than were the other tribes.

The following extract from the 1845 *Report to Congress* by
101 J. C. Frémont is of interest. It describes members of the
175 Nutunutu subtribe of Yokuts on lower Kings River in 1845.
619 They were a typical river people:

"On the opposite side we found forty or fifty Indians, who had come to meet us from the village below. We made them some small presents, and invited them to accompany us to our encampment which, after about three miles through fine oak groves, we made on the river.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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"We made a fort, principally on account of our animals. 175
The Indians brought otter skins, and several kinds of fish, and 619
bread made of acorns, to trade.

"Among them were several who had come to live among [439]
these Indians when the missions were broken up, and who spoke
Spanish fluently. They informed us that they were called by [177]
the Spainards 'mansitos', (tame) in distinction from the wilder
tribes of the mountains.

"They, however, think themselves very insecure, not knowing at what unforseen moment the sins of the latter may be 142
visited upon them. They are dark skinned, but handsome and 262
intelligent Indians, and live principally on acorns and the roots 342
of the tule, of which also their huts are made."

The last is one of the few complimentary things written by Frémont about Indians. A similar account of the Kaweah River Indians is given in the report of the survey of July, 1850, by Lieutenant George H. Derby. An extract from the Derby report follows:

"Upon the 14th we arrived at the river Frances, [Kaweah] 101
a large stream nineteen miles to the north of the Tule. This 175
stream flows nearly west from the hills and empties into the 619
Tache Lake about twenty miles north of its southeastern extremity. 133

"It is, at the point upon which we arrived, divided into five branches or sloughs, four of which separate from the main river, about five miles above, joining again from one to ten miles below, while the southern branch has a separate and distinct course from the Sierra which joins the main stream in the marshy ground near its junction with the lake.

"The country, eight miles in length by six in width, contained between these branches, is a beautiful, smooth, level plain, covered with clover of different kinds, and high grass, and thickly shaded by one continuous grove of oaks of a larger and finer description than any I have seen in the country.

"At this time each of the creeks were at its height, they 101
are deep and four of them much wider than the Tule River. 175
Their beds were also obstructed with floating and sunken tim- 619
ber previously felled for bridges, which the high stage of the 648
water rendered useless; and we would have found it difficult
to cross had it not been for the kind assistance of the neighbor- 482
ing Indians who flocked to meet us, and eagerly went to work [491]
carrying instruments and other property upon their heads and

101 175 619 swimming the animals and the little cart across without the slightest accident occurring.

648 [482] "These poor people accompanied us from creek to creek, assisting us cheerfully at each crossing, and in return for their kindness I gave them a portion of our provisions and some dirty shirts, stockings and worn-out boots, which they prized as articles of exceeding luxury, and accepted them with vast satisfaction."

[609] The people described are the Kaweah, who only a few months before had massacred the Woods party and had nailed a portion of Woods' skin to a tree. The reception given the Derby party is in direct contrast to that given the Woods party and lends support to the contention by pioneers that the Kaweah had been abused by that party.

Another interesting account of a similar occurrence, which took place among the Yokuts more than 70 years before the Woods party came to the San Joaquin Valley, is that made in his diary by Padre Francisco Garces when he visited present White River May 3, 1776:

[609] "Those Indians related to me that in their land had they taken the life of two soldiers (who I persuaded myself were deserters), because they were very wicked with the women; adding that they had cut off the hands, had laid open the breast and all the body, had torn them asunder, and scattered the remains. I told them that also did the Espanoles put to death those who were evil-doers, and that presently would they punish two who had done wrong things with Indian women."

THE LAKE PEOPLE

101 184 [342] The second culture is related in many ways to the one just presented, and will be known as the Lake Culture. Except at one or two village sites, which were well elevated above the highest lake level, they probably had no permanent dwellings.

Their houses were of a temporary nature and their entire life resembled that of wandering, migratory peoples. The 285 tule mat was used for almost everything in the way of houses and camp equipment. These mats were made by laying the tules parallel to each other with a series of half hitches, or by perforating them with an awl and threading them on strings. In this way long rolls of thin coverings were made which greatly resembled what is known as grass, or reed matting. Some of these mats were used to sleep on. They were used as covering materials to form a shade upon the sun-drenched shores of

"I remember that in the fall of 1855 my brother, Anderson 175 Akers, and I were riding along the east side of Tulare Lake when we met a group of about fifteen Indians coming toward us on the same trail we were traveling. The year before, the surrounding cattlemen and the U.S. Cavalry had rounded up almost all of the lake Indians and taken them to an Indian Reservation on the Kings River. A few had sneaked back and were hiding in the tules around the lake shore. These Indians knew we were their friends, or they would have hidden when they saw us coming. They stepped off the trail and stood quietly among the salt brush as we rode up, their baskets and bundles resting on the ground.

"We were within ten feet of the closest Indian before my horse saw them. He probably smelled them before he saw them. Anyway, the first thing I knew he almost jumped out of his skin. He landed in the brush about six feet off the trail and snorted like he had seen a ghost. He came the nearest thing possible to unloading me right there in the trail. If I hadn't pulled leather for all I was worth, that is exactly what he would have done. I hadn't seen an Indian until after he landed.

"We talked with the Indians for a few minutes. They were very anxious about the Cavalry, but we assured them there was none in the country. It was very cold and they were bundled up [291] in rabbit skins. Their faces were about all you could see of them. The brush hid their legs, which were the only bare part of them.

"As we left the Indians and rode on along the trail I looked back. Although they were less than fifty yards away, I could scarcely distinguish them, and wouldn't have distinguish- [152 ed them at all if they hadn't been moving. They were as excited 522] as Indians get, waving their arms, laughing and talking to each other. [481] Several times one of the grown boys would jump high into the air with his hands clasped in front of him like he was hanging on to a saddle horn, and land in the brush five or six feet off the trail. It was easy to see what they were laughing and talking about."

THE PLAINS PEOPLE

The Plains Culture is probably best represented by the 101 *Chauchila* tribe, which ranged in what is now known as Madera 184 County. This tribe has been known since its earliest contact with white people for its hostile attitude and horse stealing [181] tendencies. [648]

101 tendencies. It is entirely in keeping with what is known of
184 primitive cultures that this should be characteristic of a plains
people. Only one who has been afoot upon the broad San Joaquin
Plains before the days of well water can appreciate the
tremendous importance of a horse to such people.

251 During the time when salmon were running they undoubtedly
226 stored up considerable supplies of the dried flesh of these
361 fish and it is probable that they had permanent villages upon
the eastern bank of the San Joaquin River, where fishing was
carried on at all times.

From the San Joaquin River to the Sierra foothills was a
133 distance of about thirty miles, all of which was dry and barren
plains that made quite difficult the problem of gathering and
transporting acorns during the season in which they were ripe.

224 The antelope surround was probably a regular practice
among these people, as was quite likely also the jack rabbit
drive. Consequently the plains tribes used rabbit and antelope
skins to a considerable extent. Their equipment was of a more
184 mobile nature than that of the river tribes, but was constructed
of materials somewhat similar.

136 The plains lying between the San Joaquin River and the
Sierra foothills were roamed by countless antelope. There were
many elk along the river. But the hunting of these animals
224 was a very uncertain venture when the hunter was afoot. There
was no more valuable aid for which the Chauchila Indians might
have wished than a horse. As a consequence, when the Spanish
first came with horses and when the American explorers and
68 settlers arrived, they soon came to call these people "the horse-
101 thief Indians."

The following quotation from Frémont's *Memoirs* will give
175 the reader a definite idea of the behavior of these people. This
account shows very clearly how similar in behavior were the
plains people of the San Joaquin to those of the Great Plains
of the middle west:

"December 19, 1845. In a few hours we reached a beauti-
133 ful country of undulating upland, openly wooded with oaks,
principally evergreen, and watered with small streams which
together make the *Mariposas* River.

"Continuing along we came upon broad and deeply-worn
487 trails which had been freshly traveled by large bands of horses,
apparently coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But we
heard enough to know that they came from the settlements on

175 and saved his life, but was too late. The Delawares captured his horse.

"Riding along the open ground towards the valley after a mile or two we discovered ten Indians ahead going in the same direction. They saw us as well, but took no notice and did not quicken their gait. When we were about overtaking them they quietly turned into a close thicket which covered about eight acres. We gave the thicket a wide berth; for ten Indians in such a place were more dangerous than so many gray bear."

YOKUTS RELATIVES AND NEIGHBORS

101 131 619 The vast Yokuts group of tribes was closely related to four other large groups which once occupied almost half of what is now the State of California. From the extreme southern tip of Yokuts territory north of old Fort Tejon in the Tehachapi Range of mountains, their combined range extended northward nearly five hundred miles to the northern tip of *Wintun* territory in the drainage basin of Trinity River. From a point near Tomales Bay, north of San Francisco, about to Monterey, the range of this group of five related peoples extended to the Pacific Coast. This great territory comprised almost the entire well-watered, desirable agricultural lands of California and had no equal in western North America.

101 131 To the north and northeast of the Yokuts were the *Miwok* (Me'-walk). These people occupied the upper Sierra foothills from a point south of Mariposa, north to a point north of the Cosumne River. Mixed with their northern neighbors, they extended westward north of San Francisco Bay to the Pacific Coast. The tribes in and around Yosemite and Hetch-Hetchy valleys were Miwok. Although at first contact their language seems entirely foreign to Yokuts, familiarity shows that such is not the case. In disposition, appearance, lore and camp life [171] they are so similar to the Yokuts as to be easily mistaken for them.

There is reason to believe that the Yokuts once extended westward to the coast south of San Francisco Bay. There is enough evidence pointing in that direction to cause some authorities to so map them. But this area is sometimes described as the northern extreme of *Costanoan* territory. These Costanoans, another group of Yokuts relatives, extended along the coast about as far south as Monterey.

On the west side of the Sacramento River and extending

from the deltas of the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers 101
north to Trinity River were the Wintun. Extending along the 13
western Sierra foothills from the Miwok to the Pit River drainage basin were the *Maidu* (My'-doo).

To the southwest, south, and southeast of the Yokuts were foreign blood and language groups of primitive peoples. The *Salinan* group occupied the territory directly to the southwest of the Yokuts, including the valley of the Salinas River. Practically nothing is known of them. It is doubtful if a single full-blood individual has been living since about 1890. The name, *Cholame,* is a Salinan word and is now applied to a locality which was once in their territory, which extended south to a point near the north end of the Carrizo Plains.

South of the Salinan were the *Canaliño,* who undoubtedly occupied the Carrizo Plains as far north as the Painted Rock and Soda Lake. This designation is based on a study of the rock paintings in Canaliño territory and the statements of Canaliño descendants at the Indian settlement in Tejon Canyon northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

Cuyama Valley was held by the Canaliño. The word
Cuyama, taken from their language, is said to mean Clam Shell. [103]

The only known name of a Canaliño tribe bordering on the Yokuts is that of the *Tokya,* who extended from a point west of Paleta to the eastern limits of the Canaliño. Upper San Emigdio, Tecuya, Grapevine, and Pastoria Creeks are reported as having been in Tokya territory. In the Canaliño language Rancho Viejo Creek, just east of Grapevine Canyon, was called *Kwat'-lah-tah Quab'-la-quad.* Sapateria Creek was *Kahshe Nashahmo,* meaning The People There Save Things.

The name of San Emigdio Creek, and the Indian Village there was *Lashlepun* (Lash'-le-poon). The name means Cut Through, because the creek there cuts deeply through the mountains.

The *Shoshonean* Indians of Tejon Canyon called Grapevine Canyon *Shehveng Gahchah Upeh,* which means exactly the same as the white man's name for the place. The Canaliño Indians called Grapevine Canyon *Mut-tahp'-cho Whel-leh'-we,* which means Cottonwood Trees.

The eastern limits of the Canaliño across the southern boundary of Yokuts territory are not definitely established. The rugged terrain between the Cuyama and Antelope valleys shows little evidence of primitive occupation. Somewhere in

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Tubatulabal NS22

Y 101 131 this locality was probably the dividing line between the Canaliño and their neighbors to the east, the *Shoshoneans.*

The Shoshoneans were the largest and most powerful group bordering on the Yokuts. They extended from the Canaliño to the east and to the north as far as the Miwok. The names of some Shoshonean tribes have been preserved.

Occupying upper Tejon Canyon northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, the desert territory lying about Willow Springs, and Cummings and Bear valleys were the *Kitanemuk.* When asked for their tribal name some aged Tejon Indians will still answer, *"Ah kik-ke tah nim",* meaning, my tribe is Kitanemuk." A Kitanemuk village was located on Tejon Creek six miles northeast of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. It was named *Tusin Tinliu.* The site is now occupied by a settlement of Indians of mixed tribes.

The Kitanemuk Indian village on Tejon Creek where the Overland Stage Station was located was named *Ahyah Kahbe,* which means Cottonwood. The village at the mouth of Comanche Creek was named *Cheut* (Che'-oot) *Pahbe.* Comanche Creek and Comanche Point both went by the name of the village there. Comanche is a name applied by white people. The first canyon north of Comanche Creek, and also the Indian Village there, were called *Ahbahvo Kahse.* At the present White Wolf Ranch was a village called *Ahtuse* (Ah-too'-se). The mountain valley there had the same name. Tejon Canyon back of Tejon Ranchos Headquarters was named *Cutset* (Coot-seet) *Ahobe.* Bear Mountain was called *Kiets* (Ki'-eets). Where the Vaquero Headquarters is now at Tejon Ranchos was an Indian village named *Hunah Vahmutch.*

Occupying Tehachapi Valley and the country north through Walker's Basin were the *Kawaiisu.* This tribe occupied territory almost exactly opposite the Yowlumne. On Caliente Creek, where the town of Caliente is now located, was the Kawaiisu village of *Tumayo.* Another Kawaiisu village was *Tahichpiu,* after which modern Tehachapi was named.

T 361 115 North of the Kawiisu were the *Bankalachi.* As this volume goes to press there is perhaps one aged full-blooded member of this tribe still living, *Las'-yeh,* of Tule River Indian Reservation. She is now probably ninety-five years of age and is still the active head of a household. Together with her late husband, she accompanied me over much of the territory once occupied by her tribe, as well as neighboring Yokuts territory,

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Tubatulabal NS22

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on the west side of Poso Creek and was in *Paleuyami* territory. Hot Springs, on Deer Creek, was always called *Kahtil Ilkow* (Hot Springs).

Back of the Bankalachi, and extending north to present Mineral King, were the *Pitanisha,* of which the Bankalachi were a subdivision.

Y
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On the Kaweah River, surrounding present Camp Potwisha and extending east into Sequoia National Park where the *Balwishi,* or *Pahd'-wishi.* Hospital Rock was known by the Pahdwishi as *Pahdin,* meaning Place to Go Under, Moro Rock, the great granite dome which stands out so impressively above Hospital Rock, was known as *Wah'-ah Yah'-kow,* or High Rock. Castle Rocks on the south side of Kaweah River, opposite Moro Rock, in Pahdwishi territory, were named *Lungnotim.* The mountain known as Homer's nose, in the high Sierra south of Castle Rocks was named *Topousha,* meaning Leaning Rock.

The high, sharp peak northwest of the old North Tharp home, and also in Pahdwishi territory, was called *Ducuntow.* On the south bank of the Kaweah River, just south of Ducuntow was a village named *Hawtyunyu.* About two miles up the little valley southeast of the North Tharp home was the village of *Yumuhtow.*

The Pahdwishi had at the bridge just below the present Three Rivers store a seasonal camping site which was called *Chopaw.* The high hills across the river north of Chopaw were called *Nawhawntow,* meaning Bear Place, because a bear once killed an Indian there. Just across the road about eighty yards east of the Camp Howdy store was a salt spring called *Tushow.* The Indians obtained salt by boiling down this water. Sawtooth Peak, back of Mineral King, was called *Kah-did'-it.* Ash Mountain was known as *Lih-mih'-shim.* Yucca Point, just above Ash Mountain checking station, was called *Kawidow,* meaning Yucca Place. The red paintings at Hospital Rock were called *Hawyu,* meaning Red.

North of the Pahdwishi were the *Wuksache.* They occupied upper Rattlesnake Creek and the territory around present Badger. The mountain east of Ash Springs, in Wuksachi land, was called *Weke.* Bear Mountain, south and west of Badger, and the long ridge which runs southwest from it were called *Chawhawmin.* At Stokes Mountain, south of old Aukland, there are several Wuksachi landmarks. A short distance below the old Stokely Stokes ranch home was the village of *Tungnow.*

The small gap through which the road passes north of the Stokes ranch house was named *Wahwunow*. Eshom Valley, in Wuksachi territory, was named *Chetatu* (Che-taht'-oo), or Clover Place.

Above Dunlap and opposite the *Entimbits* (En-tim'-bits) Yokuts were the *Wobonuch*.

On upper Sycamore and Big Creeks, north of Kings River and above the Choinimne Yokuts were the *Holkoma*.

On Pine Ridge were the *Posgisa*.

These last five tribes, Posgisa, Holkoma, Wobonuch, Wuksachi, and Pahdwishi were known collectively as *Monaches*. All of these tribes east of the Yokuts and extending south to the Canaliño are classified as *Shoshoneans*.

Readers who are interested in knowing more about these Yokuts relatives and neighbors should refer to Bulletin 78, Bureau of American Ethnology, by A. L. Kroeber and titled *Handbook of the Indians of California*.

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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Yowlumne

[P. 44 NOT Processed]

CHAPTER II

THE YOWLUMNE

YOWLUMNE GEOGRAPHY

● 101 One of the most interesting of all tribes of Yokuts Indians 131 was the *Yowlumne* (Yowl-um'-ne). Their range was in every direction from their central village, *Woilu,* located about where now stands the Santa Fe passenger station in Bakersfield. Along Kern River their upstream limits were about where the second electrical power house is located in Kern Canyon. Their [224] downstream limits were on the plains at about the Pioneer Wier and Pioneer Bridge on Kern River. The Yowlumne hunted antelope, rabbits and squirrels on the hills as far north as Poso Creek. To the south they ranged to the shore of Kern Lake south of present Greenfield. To the southeast they ranged to within a few miles of the present Tejon Ranchos Headquarters.

[133] The most noted Yowlumne landmark was at the mouth of Kern Canyon, where the waters of Kern River make a slight [103] fall. This place was known as *Kaw'-naw Ill'-kin,* or Place Where the Water Falls. It was a noted fishing place.

361 There was a Yowlumne village, *Wawcoye* (Waw-coy'-e), 103 on the south bank of Kern River just below the mouth of Cottonwood Creek. This is still a beautiful site, well shaded by [415] sycamores. It can be recognized by the many mortars, cut into the granite boulders. These mortars are scattered from the bridge at the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now often called the Olcese Ranch, almost to the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

Tesinliu was a Yowlumne village located on the north bank of Kern River northeast of the foot of China Grade. *Shoko* was the most easterly Yowlumne village. It was in Kern Canyon. The name means Windy Place. The Yowlumne village at Tejon Ranchos Headquarters, most southerly of their settlements, was named *Tinliu,* meaning Hole. *Pohalin Tinliu,* Squirrel Hole Place, was a Yowlumne village on the southeast shore of now extinct Kern Lake.

On the north side of Kern River, and beginning just below the bridge at the Rio Bravo Rancho, another Yowlumne Indian village straggled downstream for about a mile. It was named *Hawsu.*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Yowlumne

Before it was disturbed by white people, Reeder Hill ex- 361
tended diagonally across where the present Santa Fe passenger 172
station is located from about the center of the court yard between the High School shops, to the intersection of Sixteenth and D streets. A branch of Kern River ran close by the west end of Reeder Hill. It actually came almost to the intersection of Truxtun Avenue and A streets.

When Colonel Thomas Baker came to the site of present 361
Bakersfield in 1863, a large group of Yowlumne Indians lived in the two villages, one on each side of the river at the west end of Reeder Hill. The late Thomas A. Baker told me that his father, Colonel Thomas Baker, for whom the City of Bakersfield is named, often sent him down to Reeder Hill to bring Indians to work at their home. This log home stood near the intersection of Nineteenth and M streets. These Indians, the
most willing often being men, made gardens, washed clothes, [464]
scrubbed floors, mended clothes, cut firewood, cared for chil- [357]
dren and did all sorts of housework. They were the first baby sitters in Bakersfield.

Other Yowlumne villages and camping sites were scattered about the plains near where Bakersfield is now located. But they were not permanent villages, as the Indians were forced to move when high water flooded the plains adjoining the sloughs and branches of Kern River, and also when the flow of Kern River switched from one slough or branch to another.

Soon after white people began to settle on the site of pres-
ent Bakersfield, the Yowlumne began calling the locality [103]
Wawlu, meaning Planting Place. This was because the white settlers began planting crops.

THE YOWLUMNE INDIANS

The *Yowlumne* were a typical Yokuts group. Their 101
language was almost identical with that of nearby Yokuts 181
tribes. They were, like the rest, a happy, friendly, dependable people. The first settlers on lower Kern River found it perfectly safe to to take them into their pioneer homes to perform
housework of all kinds. This was true of both men and women, [462]
for often the Yowlumne men did washing, dishwashing and the scrubbing of floors as willingly as did the women.

At this time, 1949, there are two full-blood Yowlumne In- 161
dians still living. This will come as a surprise to some readers,

Yowlumne

At this point in the account of the Yowlumne Indians it is 101
necessary to make some explanation concerning their name. It 124
appears in other printed literature as *Yauelmani*. I used this pronunciation until I had interviewed Wahumchah over a period of more than twenty years. One afternoon, when we were returning from a program before the Standard School in Oildale, he had the following to say: "You know, Mr. Latta, you make one bad mistake when you talk about my people. You call their tribe Yauelmani. That is wrong. The correct name is Yowlumne. Yauelmani means a little group of Yowlumne. I think sometime some old-timer white man met a few of my people. He asked them who they were and they said, 'Yauelmani'. That was right. But that was not their tribe name. I know that from all of my old people."

Since, after all, the Indian is the final authority, and since also, Wahumchah's correction corresponds with many other Yokuts tribe name endings, I have incorporated it in this work.

Wahumchah continued with his corrections: "You make one other bad mistake when you tell people that the name Te-
hachapi means Windy Place. I knew many old Indians from [103]
that place when I was a boy and I heard them explain that name. The Indians from that country call an oak-covered flat *Tah-heetch'* [Wahumchah's pronunciation was about midway between Tah-heetch and *Tah-hitch'*]. Tah-heetch'-e-pah meant People from the Oak Flat."

Since Wahumchah furnished his information concerning Tehachapi, I have interviewed several old Indians who have lived their entire lives around Tehachapi and Tejon Canyon. They have corroborated Wahumchah and have added that they still use the name, Tah-heetch. It is applied to the large, oak-covered flat north of the road just above Tejon Ranchos Headquarters. On an 1864 map of California in Johnson's *Atlas of the World* the name appears as *Taheechepah*.

Concerning the origin of the name Yowlumne, Wahumchah furnished the following: "Our people were known as the Wolf People. In the old days *Yowl'-its,* the big white wolf, lived in our country. In my language *Yowl* meant the same as it does in English. Yowlits meant howler. Yowlumne meant People of the Howlers."

The Yowlumne had their tribal limits set as definitely as 101
did the other Yokuts tribes. They hunted, fished and gathered 131

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Yowlumne

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131 foodstuffs and minerals well within their recognized boundaries.

Each Yokuts tribe was ruled by a Chief. He lived at the
622 principal, or head village. In Yowlumne territory this was
361 *Woilu,* on Reeder Hill, where now stands the Santa Fe passenger depot in Bakersfield. The next important Yowlumne village, *Tesinliu,* was located on the north bank of Kern River about three miles above the Discovery Well of the Kern River Oilfield. The third most important village was on the south side of Kern River just above the old Rio Bravo Rancho, now known as the Olecese place. The chiefs at the two upstream villages were responsible to the head chief at Reeder Hill.

Yokuts villages were almost always located on well traveled trails and sometimes at a point where two trails crossed. Important villages on rivers were often at a ford, or easy crossing, where a trail following the hills crossed another following the river. This was true of the village on Reeder Hill and the one between the Rio Bravo Rancho and the mouth of Cottonwood Creek.

624 The chiefs of these villages placed a *Winatun,* or private secretary, at a point where trails entered the village. It was
576 the responsibility of the Winatun to meet all approaching travelers, to learn who they were, what was their business, and, if possible, to give them what information was necessary and send them on their way. If the traveler was not so easily disposed of, it was then the duty of the Winatun to conduct him to the chief. After the interview it was the duty of the Winatun to conduct the traveler to the edge of the village and bid him goodbye.

This practice is still carried on at the camps or villages of of remaining Yokuts Indians. After having visited Indian camps and having gathered data from aged Indians for more than twenty-five years, this writer finds this feature one of the most pleasing Yokuts characteristics. It makes a visitor feel welcome to have someone appear and pass the time of day as he drives his car up to an Indian door. If he has time, the young man who is elected as a greeting committee of one will open any gates that are closed.

796 The Yowlumne periodically performed a ceremony that
574 can be classed as a snake dance. Live rattlesnakes were used and were handled by snake doctors, or special medicine men. Yokuts came to this dance from neighboring tribes as far away

136 antelope easy prey for the Indians and which was responsible
for the system of hunting known as the Antelope Surround.
224 Undoubtedly this system was used by many Yokuts subtribes.
However, our most detailed account of this is reported from
the *Koyeti*.

The Koyeti subtribe of Yokuts, of which there are now no
101 full-bloods living, occupied the territory adjacent to lower Tule
131 River from a point above Porterville, known as Chico Flats,
down to a point probably two or three miles west of the
224 present Southern Pacific Railroad north of Tipton. This tract of
[103] land was called by them *Kia-wit'-nau*. Their principal village
was near Porterville and was known as *Cho-ko-wish'-o*. From
individual Koyeti and from some accounts given by aged members
of neighboring tribes, the details of the Antelope Surround
are known.

The ***Wukchumne*** say that once or twice a year they used
224 to join with other surrounding tribes in aiding the Koyeti with
[476] the drive, providing probably a thousand drivers. One or two
Indians secreted themselves in the tall grass near a point where
antelope were in the habit of watering. Drivers from the several
tribes secreted themselves at a distance around this point.

When the antelope began to come to the water hole the two decoy Indians lay on their backs and raised their feet into the air above the grass. In some instances strips of skin, or woven grass, were tied to their feet, which were kicked backward and forward in a way to wave the attached materials before the antelope. It seems no antelope ever lived that was able to resist the temptation of approaching as closely as possible to such a performance. They were as fascinated as is a speeding automobile driver with an approaching passenger train. They would crowd together and circle about the Indians, first at a distance of several hundred yards and then gradually nearer, until, forgetful of everything else, many hundreds of them stood within a few yards of the decoys. Many times this system was used for the purpose of decoying and killing one or two antelope, but upon the occasion of the "surround" the game was not disturbed until the hundreds of scattered Indians had drawn inward and formed a complete circle, or Indian fence, around the huddled band of animals.

When the word was given, the decoys arose and fired into the band, probably killing two or three. As the band attempted

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER XIII

INDIAN STATEMENTS

PAHMIT'S STORY

Almost all of the material in the preceding sketches concerning San Joaquin Valley Indians has been taken from statements made by aged Yokuts Indians, or by aged white pioneers who settled among the Yokuts before they were disturbed by white people. To present an intimate picture of the Yokuts it is best to include a few stories just as they were related to me by aged Indians. 115 159

The following self-explanatory statement was taken from Pahmit in 1928: 159

I born *Kuyu* (Koo'-you) *Illik,* long time 'go. Kuyu Illik [Sulphur Water] Indian village bank river white man call San Joaquin. Village at place white man call Fort Miller where soldiers march. [103]

My people belong *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) tribe Indian. I don't know how much old me. White man say I more than hundred. I know when soldiers, Major Savage come Kuyu Illik make Indian sign paper, [1851], I [illegible]ung man 'bout twenty-one, twenty-two years old. [101]

My people live happy 'till soldiers come. We have plenty eat. We have nice dry houses live in. We don't fight. Lots our people live along river above Kuyu Illik. Lots antelope, lots elk, lots wild horses come river, drink below Kuyu Illik where Friant now. [648] [181]

My grandpa, *Tom'-kit,* chief all Indian tribe 'round Kuyu Illik. We want meat; he send two, three Indian; good shot with bow, arrow, get it. They hide in rocks by river, wait antelope, elk. Antelope come. They shoot six, eight nice fat ones. They shoot one each house Kuyu Illik. They let rest run 'way. We have all meat we want. When white man come, he shoot, shoot, shoot. Kill all antelope. Kill all elk. Then he bring cattle, make Indian buy beef. 159 224 648

When Indian get hungry, he go with gun shoot some quail, maybe cotton tail, maybe dove. White man 'rest him, put in jail. Now my people no keep gun. They no have rifle; they no have shotgun in house. When my people shoot, white man 'rest him.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948) 1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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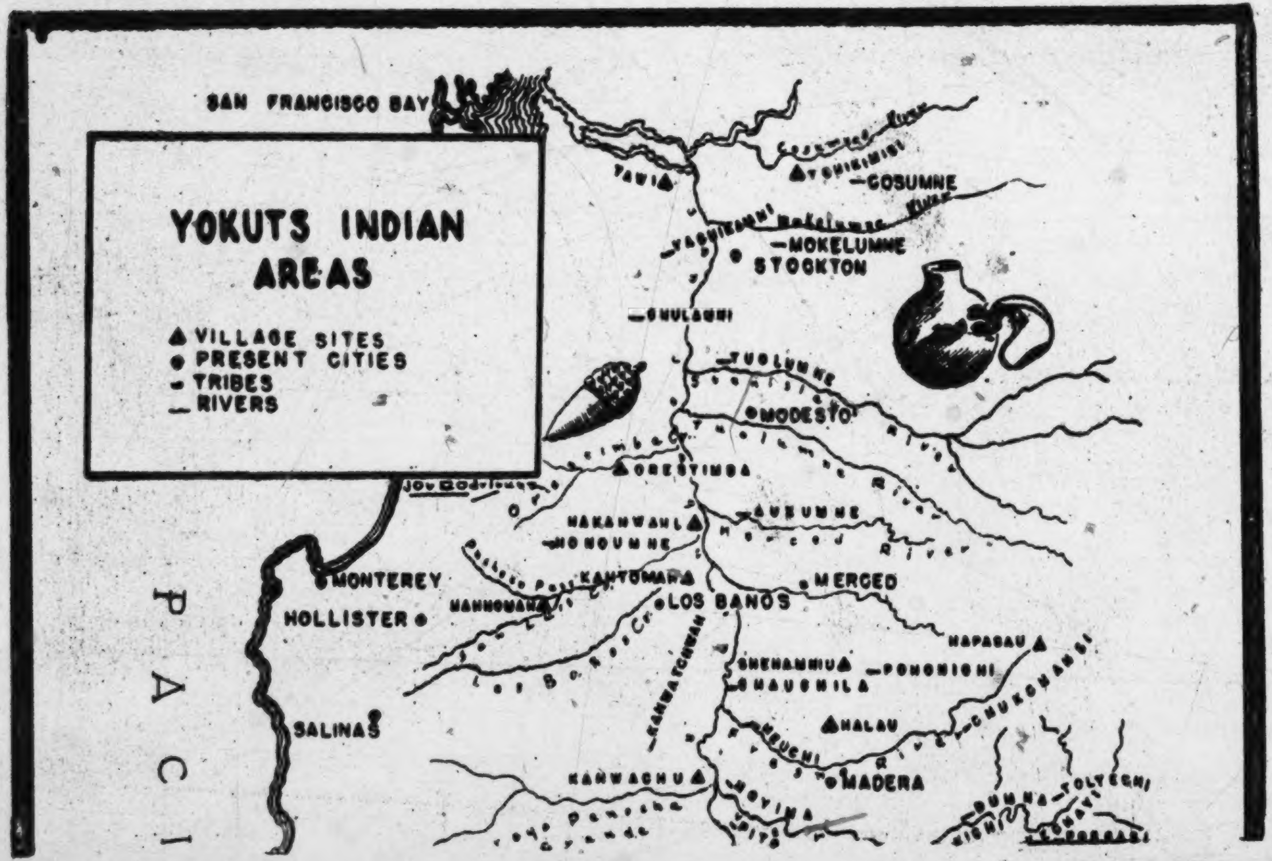
YOKUTS INDIAN AREAS
▲ VILLAGE SITES
● PRESENT CITIES
- TRIBES
_ RIVERS
SAN FRANCISCO BAY
TAWI
TCHIKIMISI
Cosumnes River
GOSUMNE
Mokelumne River
YACHICUMNI
MOKELUMNE
STOCKTON
CHULAMNI
TUOLUMNE
Stanislaus
MODESTO
River
Tuolumne River
Orestimba Cr.
ORESTIMBA
AUSUMNE
HAKANWAHL
HONOUMNE
Merced River
KANTOMAH
MERCED
MONTEREY
LOS BANOS
MAHNOMAH
HOLLISTER
Los Banos Cr.
KAHWATCHWAH
HAPASAU
SHEHAMNIU
POHONICHI
CHAUCHILA
CHUKCHANSI
HALAU
HEUCHI
Fresno River
SALINAS
KAHWACHU
MADERA
TOLTECHI
DUMNA
HOYIMA
PITC
KISHI
Panoche Grande
PACI

[End Map(A)(A)]

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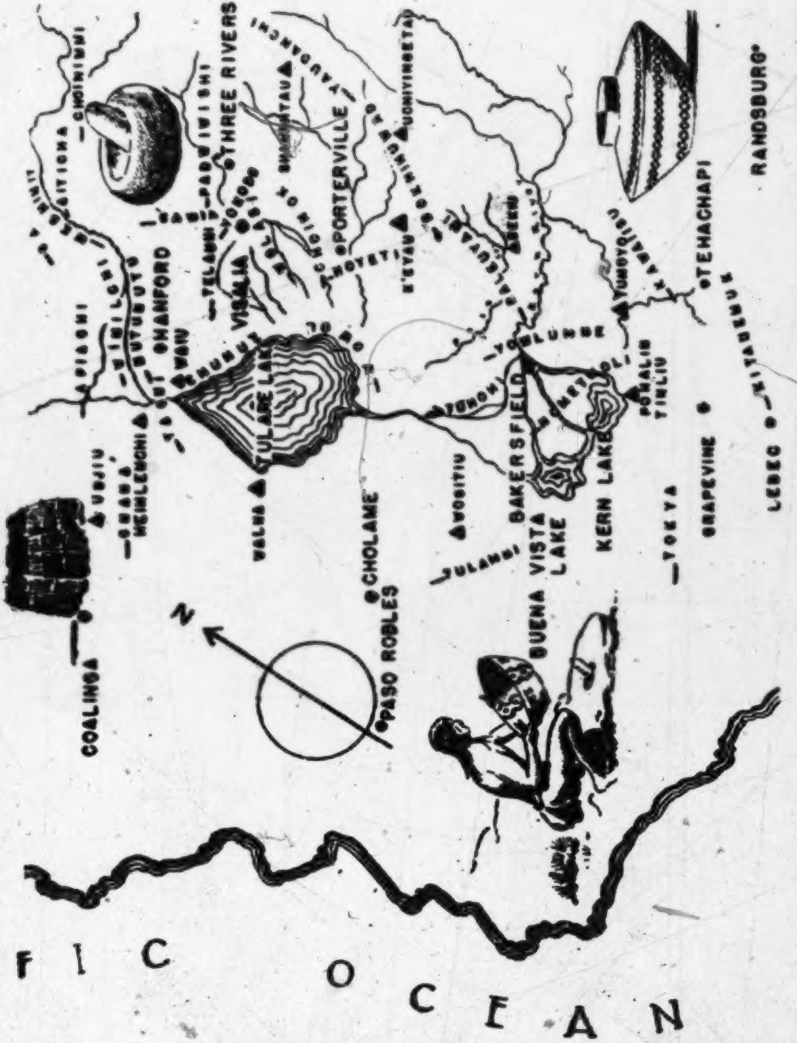
COALINGA
UDJIU
CHANA'
HEIMLENCHI
TACHI
APIAGHI
WIMILCHI
WECHIHIT
GAITICHA
CHOINIMNI
NUTUNUTU
HANFORD
WAIU
GAWIA
TELAMNI
PADWIWISHI
THREE RIVERS
VISALIA
YOKODO
WOLASI
CHUNUT
TULARE LAKE
WALNA
SHAHINTAU
YAUDANCHI
CHOINOK
KOYETI
PORTERVILLE
K'EYAU
BOKNINUWAD
UCHIYINGETAU
TUHOHI
YOWLUMNE
PALEUYAMI
BEKU
N
PASO ROBLES
CHOLAME
WOSITIU
TULAMNI
BAKERSFIELD
BUENA VISTA LAKE
HOMETWOLI
KERN LAKE
YUMOYO
KAWAIISU
POHALIN TINLIU
TOKYA
GRAPEVINE
TEHACHAPI
LEBEC
KITANEMUK
RANDSBURG
FIC OCEAN

[End Map (B)]

182 ship of environment to culture, and while matters such as instinct, mental level,
and schools of anthropology in vogue at the time somewhat obscure the main
114 issue of his treatise, his "reaction point of view" may still be examined profitably.

> By reaction we mean the conception that external things and relations impress the mind so as to be at least the occasion for return action. . . . The problem for us is, however, Do such stimuli or impressions determine or modify culture?[6]

Nor did Dr Boas omit the environmental factor when he said,

> The explanation of the activity of the mind of man . . . requires the discussion of two distinct problems. The first bears upon the question of unity or diversity of organization of the mind, while the second bears upon the diversity produced by the variety of contents of the mind as formed in the various social and *geographical* environments.[7]

Without emphasizing the subsistence link which already has been the chief concern of culture-environment studies, the paper in hand will demonstrate how large a part of one culture was enmeshed with its natural surroundings. Environment herein is meant to include any or all externals of the culture and the people (culture-bearers), though, naturally, culture itself and even physiology are recognized as environment to the individual. For our present purpose the Yokuts
[101] and neighboring Western Mono of the Sierra Nevada foothills may be considered
culturally one in spite of linguistic and other habitual differences. Emphasis will be on foothill rather than valley Yokuts, the Wukchumni in particular as exemplifying the norm of the cultural features described.[8]

II

221 The seasonal round of the year had three phases in native terms which fitted
with the San Joaquin valley climate: Winter (tomoˊkšiu) began about Novem-
805 ber and lasted through February; Spring (tisaˊmiu) was roughly March through
132 May; and Summer (haiyaˊdi) was from June through October.[9] These were:
a cold rainy season when plant life was in a productive lull and habitation was

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[6] Clark Wissler, *The Psychological Aspects of the Culture Environment Relation* (American Anthropologist, vol. 14, pp. 217-225; 1911).

[7] Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York, 1916), p. 103; italics mine.

[8] The letter Y after a tribal name denotes Yokuts, WM, Western Mono. All ethnographic material unless otherwise noted is from the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography* (Anthropological Records, in press).

[9] A fourth season, Fall (wusa'o), was mentioned only upon inquiry, if at all, by my Central Foothill informants, and I believe it to be a modern interpolation. The Northern Foothill people clearly recognized a fall season, as indicated by my own and Dr Driver's informants (Harold E. Driver, *Culture Element Distributions: VI, Southern Sierra Nevada*, Anthropological Records, vol. 1, pp. 53-154, 1937, p. 150).

Thus two types of environmental factor, topographic access or hindrance, 439
and "weather permitting" or hindering, affected the economic relation of the
foothill Yokuts with their neighbors. Easy access does not necessarily mean 484
exchanges of goods or other cultural items, but barriers do retard them. On the 648
other hand, differing environments mean different products, and had Eastern
Mono products been identical with Yokuts (yet equally inaccessible) the impetus
to exchange would have been wanting. The topographic barrier was surmounted,
but the weather barrier could not be, and it presumably served to maintain the
strangeness and hostility between Eastern Mono and Yokuts, which only was
assuaged temporarily and periodically by the presence of the mutually acculturated
intermediaries, the Western Mono.

As suggested by the adjustments of trading periods to the seasonal environment, 439
the physiographic setting was a factor in other tribal relationships and 133
directional emphases. The plain or floor of the San Joaquin valley is abruptly
ended on the eastern side by the rising wall of the Sierra Nevada; there is no
slow progression. Of the foothills, the most meagre are treeless cones planted at
the edge of the valley floor; behind them are higher, larger, interlocking cones
blending into sharply massed mountains above which stand snow-capped peaks.
This topographic antithesis was reflected in non-material culture of the Yokuts.
A directional distinction of eastward, upstream, mountainward (no´tu) versus [823]
westward, downstream, plainsward (to´xil; da´ṭu) gave names to the moieties [616]
(where they occurred): Nutuwich, Tokelyuwich; it regulated spatial arrangements
at large ceremonies; wars and competitions in myths were attributed to
uplanders and lowlanders; and in cosmogonic beliefs eastward beyond the mountains [775]
is the mysterious "home" of the supernatural animals, while westward
beyond the ocean is the "home" of the dead, a place of feasting and merriment.

Other directions of the conventional six were also important.[19] North 101
(hosi´m) and south (homo´t) were constantly used as general designations for 823
other Yokuts people, individuals or groups, when the tribal name was not known,
i. e., "northerner" (hoso´mo), "southerner" (humti´nin). East and west 133
(nutu´wič; tokelyu´wič) were rarely used for directional labels for tribes, not 439
because they were moiety names (which the Central Foothill Yokuts lacked
entirely) but because the east-west span of the valley is short, and close knowledge
of neighbors by tribal name ran along the east to west flow of the streams. Comparably,
the intervening watersheds discouraged north-south travel. In general,
westerner (to´kya) was a term for any people living far west or southwest of

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[19] Usually named in order: S, W, N, E, U, D. (No color symbolism was associated with direction.) [822]

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 the Yokuts (e. g., Salinan, Chumash), while collectively unknown eastern
133 groups were called mountaineers (do´mtui). The north and south dimensions
439 of the valley are greater, and tribal contacts in the floor of the valley were so
823 aligned along the water flow between Kern, Buena Vista, Tulare Lakes, and the
lower San Joaquin River.

Of the two other directions, up (ṭi´pin; sky, above) and down (ati´l), the
823 latter had no special significance beyond myth reference to an underground
gambler whose home might be reached via a badger or gopher hole.[20] Upward,
[778] "aboveness," was of great religious significance, the embodiment of sacredness
and supernatural power. Veneration was manifest in many ways, especially in a
religious-motivated looking upwards, looking at the stars and sun with prayerful
phrases on the lips, basking in the sun, getting magic "airshot" from the sun
during shamanistic contests. Supernatural power was called ṭi´pni; it was the
essence of all "aboveness" and the power derived therefrom, though the term
might be applied to anything weird, holy, or peculiarly hyperphysical.

To the earth itself (di´nit) there was no special attitude, nor to the plants
[824] growing on it save the narcotics tobacco (so´'og) and *Datura* (ta´ñai). For
example, for all the essential uses earth was excavated without special concern—
house, sweathouse, or grave pits, for pottery, colored earths for paint. Similarly
ordinary stones were taken for implements, motars and pestles, though previously
[778] shaped stones such as the "charmstones" of weather shaman, were regarded with
awe, as ṭi´pni.

823 On the other hand, water (i´dik), especially that of springs, was venerated:
778 "water is immortal because it is everywhere; it is living all the time." Springs
were addressed prayerfully, sacred eagle down was scattered near them, and a
[782] little water was sprinkled on oneself with a request for long life. Other expressions
of this attitude are found in early morning bathing (more than a mere
[515] cleansing act), and in myths, wherein submersion or application of water was
the standard method of magical resuscitation.

821 The stars were not ignored; on the contrary, the Morning Star especially was
[782] of great importance: people should be up in time to see it, greet it with a prayerful
request for "a good world" and longevity. The Pleiades gave luck to
[777] gamblers; other stars were dangerous lures to men. Eclipses of moon or sun were
hailed with shouts of discouragement, and excessive thunder was admonished to
cease. In short, even heavenly bodies were part of the immediate, reachable
environment.

805 Aspects of time, of the place of animals and of man in the world were em-

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[20] There was no concept of stratified worlds, or of previous and successive worlds.

121 were political factors of tremendous power. To show the chiefs and shamans not as categorized functionaries, but as individuals of elevated powers operating in a given social setting is the purpose of this paper.

114 122 The material herein presented represents a part of data collected during various field investigations made by the author for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1928. A fellowship of the National Research Council and funds for further field work kindly supplied by the department named have made this presentation possible.

114 [101] The tribes under consideration are certain groups of Western Mono and Yokuts which at one time occupied between them the plains and foothills of the San Joaquin valley in south central California. The published material on the tribes of this region is not extensive. The pioneer work among the Yokuts was done by Professor A. L. Kroeber, and formed the basis of his account of Yokuts habitat and culture which appears in his Handbook.[1] The Handbook likewise gives the best summary of known facts concerning Western Mono culture.[2] Mr. E. W. Gifford is the original contributor.[3]

101 121 171 [642] [616] The location of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes and the juxtaposition of the two linguistic stocks in the San Joaquin valley have been fully discussed by Kroeber.[4] For the purposes of this paper the linguistic differences of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes are without importance. Certain cultural differences exist between the stocks but are no greater than comparable differences within the Yokuts area itself. In the matter of political organization the Yokuts and Western Mono were practically identical. The moiety division of the valley and northern foothill Yokuts and North Fork Mono was a ceremonial dichotomy not affecting the number or powers of tribal officials.

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[1] Handbook of the Indians of California (BAE, Bull. 78, 1925), 474–543; Yokuts Language of South Central California, this series, 2:165–377, 1907; Indian Myths of South Central California, *ibid.*, 4:192, 193, 204–242, 1907; California Kinship Systems, *ibid.*, 12:352–358, 1917; Yokuts Names (JAFL, 19:142, 143, 1906); The Yokuts and Yuki Languages (Boas Anniv. Volume, 64–79 [New York, 1906]). Contributions on Yokuts culture from other authors are: Stephen Powers, Tribes of California (CNAE, 3 [Washington, 1877]):369–392; George W. Stewart, Two Yokuts Traditions (JAFL, 21:237–239, 1908); A Yokuts Creation Myth (*ibid.*, 19:322, 1906); A. H. Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making, this series, 24:3, 239–255, 1929); The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California, *ibid.*, 28:57–82, 1930.

[2] Pp. 584–589.

[3] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, this series, 11:291–296, 1916; California Kinship Terminologies, *ibid.*, 18:51, 52, 1922; Western Mono Myths, JAFL, 36:302–367, 1923.

[4] Handbook, 474–488, 584–589, pl. 47.

A complete, intensive study of Yokuts culture is no longer possible. 121
The northern valley dwellers have been extinct for nearly a century.
A meager remnant of central valley or Tulare lake Yokuts is now
huddled on a ranchería near Lemoore, Kings county. In this group 115
but one woman, Josie Alonzo, is capable of giving information on the
customs of her people during the period of her childhood, say 1860– 121
1880. Another woman, senile in 1925 and since dead, gave some
additional, fragmentary, data on the Tachi and Telamni. The southern
valley dwellers are completely unknown to the writer. Of these 121
people, culturally obliterated many years ago and perhaps entirely [114]
gone today, Kroeber's account is in all probability the most complete
that we shall ever have.

Mountainward, conditions for field work are better. In the foothills at least a few representatives of almost every Yokuts tribe from Fresno river south to Kern river still dwell at or near their old village sites. The bulk of the data on these tribes was obtained from those dwelling in the Kings-Kaweah river section. The remaining foothill Yokuts data are from the region of Tule river.

The Western Mono are represented here exclusively by the 101
Wobonuch and Waksachi tribes. According to reliable informants the Patwisha (Balwisha) were culturally identical with the Waksachi. Mr. E. W. Gifford has kindly given me relevant data from his unpublished material on the North Fork Mono. The Western Mono, owing to their location in the mountains, relatively protected from intensive white intrusion, now number more than their less fortunate Yokuts neighbors to the west.

The material from the regions investigated can, I think, be taken 121
as representative for the entire valley between the Fresno and Kern rivers. The present writer's field investigations were in the nature of an ethnographic survey. In covering so large an area in the greater part of which aboriginal culture has entirely disappeared, the most fruitful course to pursue seemed that of an extensive, general survey rather than an intensive, localized one. Of the tribes dwelling on the upper reaches of the San Joaquin, Kings, Kaweah, and Tule rivers, and of one tribe in the old Tulare lake area, at least one or more natives suitable in age and knowledge to act as informants were found. While such informants might not always be able to give detailed information their general knowledge was sufficient to give us an analyzable account of Yokuts culture. Social life in the San Joaquin valley was largely intertribal. Hence an intelligent informant had a

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

101 619 [611] The Yokuts and Western Mono peoples of the San Joaquin valley were grouped in units justifiably called tribes. A tribe comprised several families living in villages, and possessing one to three chiefs, a distinctive dialect, and name. The tribal name such as Chunut, Chukchansi, Yaudanchi, Wobonuch, Patwisha, etc., applied to the dialectic unit as a whole. A child belonged to the tribe of his father regardless of the place of his birth. The persons of any tribe often referred to themselves or each other by this name, as, "I am Chunut," or "She is Chukchansi," though they recognized their generic linguistic bond. Villages had names but it is doubtful that the tribal name had any reference to these sites.[5]

361 [221] The villages were permanent but were dwelt in mostly during the winter months. From about May to September families moved out into summer camps for seed gathering. Often two or three families would move together for the summer, usually going year after year to the same spot. It was not compulsory to leave the village during the summer: often old people stayed there the year round; sick people were left behind with some one in attendance. The summer camping out, though habitual, was entirely a matter of convenience.

423 Although there were no definite tribal boundaries, the large village sites of each were regarded respectively as the seat of the tribe. Hunting, and seed and acorn gathering, were confined to tribal areas though nothing more definite than a hilltop, a creek, or a cluster of trees determined their limits. Adjacent tribes between whom relations were friendly often asked permission to come onto each other's territory to obtain food if there was a shortage within their own bounds. The property sense in regard to land was so undeveloped that there was little formality regarding such invasions, and they rarely if ever resulted in hostilities.

161 361 The size of the area regarded as its own by any one tribe probably varied according to the number of people in it. What the actual numbers were for any Yokuts or Mono tribe in ancient times it is difficult to conjecture. Moraga's figures showing populations ranging from sixty Aiticha to eight hundred Telamni are suggestive even if inaccurate.[6] Every tribe had at least one major village site, several

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[5] Kroeber, Handbook, 475.

[6] Given by Kroeber, Handbook, 491.

361 101 With such villages as nuclei, members of each tribe occupied roughly defined areas, spoke a distinctive dialect, practiced their daily pursuits and ceremonies, gave allegiance to their chiefs, and were self-consciously aware of the political unity which was expressed in their tribal name.

614 The fundamental unit within the tribe was the paternal lineage. Each lineage had a totemic animal which was inherited by all children in the male line. A woman retained her totem upon marriage but it was not usually transmitted to her offspring, or if it were it was for that generation only. Individual names were paternally inherited, though not exclusively so. There was a tendency for the name of a paternal grandfather or grandmother to pass to the eldest grandson or granddaughter.[8] Names were usually chosen and bestowed by the paternal grandfather. Although names had no totemic reference [551] they were said to belong to the lineage: two people could not have the same name unless they were related. In over two hundred names occurring in genealogies collected by the present writer no interlineage duplicates have been discovered.

614 825 The number of totemic animals associated with lineages was not large; at least today not more than a dozen are recognized. Eagle, prairie falcon, dove, coyote, bear, rattlesnake, and fish appear with greatest frequence. A priori one might expect that persons with the same totem would regard themselves as related, but this was not the case. [616 582] Except in those tribes in which moiety exogamy prevailed persons having the same totem might marry provided they were not more closely related than by third or fourth cousinship. In fact, the marriage of a boy and girl both having eagle or dove totem (the chief's and winatum's totems, respectively) was an occasion for rejoicing.

The totemic animal was venerated. Under no circumstances did an individual kill his animal, and in the case of its being edible—as bear, dove, or fish, its flesh was never eaten. A person who unwittingly ate of such food would always be nauseated by it. An individual prayed, talked to, and dreamed of his totem animal, especially if it were associated with some official or ceremonial capacity.

614 622 825 Certain totemic animals were symbols of actual or potential functions. Thus eagle was invariably the chief's totem among the Yokuts. The Wobonuch and Waksachi Western Mono recognized prairie falcon as a chief's totem but eagle was equally emphasized in this connection.

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[8] See genealogies, Appendix.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE YO'-KUTS.

● 101 In the language of this nation *yo'-kuts* denotes "Indian" or "Indians", and *no'-no*, "man". (It is a singular fact that nearly every language has different words for "man" and "Indian".) As often before, so here again it is necessary to adopt a word in common use as a basis of classification, since they have no national name.

648 We have seen how the California Indians in the extreme northern part of their domain were, at the time of the American advent, being driven back and crushed out by the stronger and fiercer Athabascan races. Likewise in the southern part of their habitat this peaceful race was slowly giving way before the incursions of the more powerful and warlike Paiuti of Nevada. All along the eastern side of the great interior basin the Sierra [133] Nevada interposes an effectual barrier against the latter, protecting the Californians on that side; but the passes which occur at the northern and southern points of junction between the Sierra and the Coast Range allowed the Athabascan tribes and the Paiuti, respectively, to swarm in toward the rich and tempting plains of California, dispossessing the feebler peoples who were there before them.

Living as they do at the lower end of the great basin, the Yokuts received the brunt of the Paiuti attacks. So severe were the latter that the Yokuts, as a geographically solid body of allied tribes, were cut in two in one place and nearly in another. Their habitat stretched originally from [131] the Fresno River to Fort Tejon; but the Paiuti tribes, swarming through Ta-hi'-cha-pa, Tejon, and Walker's Passes, seized and occupied Kern River, White River, Posa Creek, and Kern Lake, thus completely severing the Yokuts nation, and leaving an isolated fragment of it at Fort Tejon, in

[pp. 1-368 not processed]

A nook of the mountains.

648 a nook of the mountains. Doubtless they would eventually have seized
all the streams emptying into Tulare Lake, but they seem to have become
[164] enervated by the malaria, and reduced to the same condition of sluggishness
as the people whom they displaced.

At the time of the American advent, therefore, the Yokuts occupied
131 the south bank of the Fresno; the San Joaquin, from Whisky Creek down
to the mouth of the Fresno; King's River, from Mill Creek down to the mouth; the Kaweah, Tule River, and Deer Creek; the west shore of Tulare Lake, and the isolated mountain-nook at Fort Tejon.

Their tribal distribution was as follows: On the San Joaquin, from
● 101 Whisky Creek down to Millerton, are the Chŭk'-chan-si; farther down, the
131 Pit'-ka-chi, now extinct. On King's River, going down stream, are the following bands, in their order: Tis-e'-chu, Chai-nim'-ai-ni, It-i'-cha, Wi'-chi-kik, Ta'-chi, No-toan'-ai-ti, the latter on the lake, the Tachi at Kingston. On Dry Creek are the Kas-so'-vo; in Squaw Valley the Chu-kai'-mi-na. On the Kaweah River, beginning in the mountains, are the Wik'-sach-i, Wik-chum'-ni (in the foot-hills), Kau-i'-a (on the edge of the plains), Yu'-kol (on the plains), Te'-lum-ni (two miles below Visalia), Chu'-nut (at the lake). On Tule River are the O-ching'-i-ta (at Painted Rock), Ai'-a-pai (at Soda Spring), Mai-ai'-u (on South Fork), Sa-wakh'-tu (on the main river), Ki-a-wet'-ni (at Porterville). At Fort Tejon are the Tin'-lin-neh (from *tin'-nilh*, "a hole"), so called on account of some singular depressions in the earth in that vicinity. A little further north, near Kern Lake, are the Po-hal'-lin-Tin'leh (squirrel-holes), so named on account of the great number of ground-squirrels living in that place.

In the Yokuts nation there appears to be more political solidarity, more
619 capacity in the petty tribes of being grouped into large and coherent
masses, than is common in the State. This is particularly true of those
542 living on the plains, who display in their encampments a military precision
361 and regularity which are remarkable. Every village consists of a single
row of wigwams, conical or wedge-shaped, generally made of tule, and
[343] just enough hollowed out within so that the inmates may sleep with the
head higher than the feet, all in perfect alignment, and with a continuous
awning of brushwood stretching along in front. In one end-wigwam lives

For half an hour, perhaps, I slept. Then awaking suddenly I stood 769
up in my blankets and looked down upon the camp, now broadly flooded by the level sun. It was silent as the grave. Even the unresting dogs slept at last, and the Indian ponies ceased from browsing, and stood still between the manzanita bushes to let the first sunshine warm and mellow up their hides, on which the hair stood out straight. All that wonderful night seemed like the phantasmagoria of a fevered dream. But before the sun was three-quarters of an hour high that tireless herald was out again, and going the rounds with a loud voice, to waken the heavy sleepers. In a few minutes the whole camp was in motion; not one remained, though many an eyelid moved like lead. The choir of singers took their places promptly, squatting on the ground; and a great company of men and women, bearing their offerings aloft, as before, joined in the same dance as described, with the same hissing *heh!* only it was performed in a disorderly rush-round, raising a great cloud of dust. Every five minutes, upon the ceasing of the singers, all faced suddenly to the west, ran forward a few paces, with a great clamor of mourning, and those in the front prostrated themselves, and bowed down their faces to the earth, while others stretched out their arms to the west, and piteously wrung them, with imploring cries, [775]
as if beckoning the departed spirits to return, or waving them a last farewell. This is in accordance with their belief in a Happy Western Land. Soon, upon the singers resuming, they all rose and joined again in the tumultuous rush-round. This lasted about an hour; then all was ended for that day, and the weary mourners betook themselves to their booths and to sleep.

Perhaps the only feature that mars this wonderful exhibition, in a moral point of view, is the fact that any mourner, when about to consign a funeral *plume or other ornament to* the flames in honor of the dead, will accept money for it from a by-stander (provided he is an Indian), if only enough is offered. But they have scruples against selling objects on these occasions to a white man.

At Kern Lake, there was a small tribe which I am at a loss where to 101
place in my classification. There are only a very few of them left, having been removed to Tule River Reservation; and at this latter place I saw only

101 one old man who was able to give me, through a Spanish interpreter, his numerals, but nothing more. Following are the ten numerals:

[802
192]

One.	kil′-leh.	Six.	tukh′-tu.
Two.	cho-yo′-chi.	Seven.	po-ko′-i-chin-tin′-li.
Three.	u-yat′-si.	Eight.	pus′-in-tin′-li.
Four.	chu′-i-chau.	Nine.	hōs′-che.
Five.	loap′-chin-tin′-li.	Ten.	chi′-wa.

[P. 168 not Processed]

THE YOKUTS LANGUAGE OF SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA.

The Indians of the Yokuts linguistic family, sometimes also 101
called Mariposan, inhabited the southern end of the San Joaquin
basin in California. Roughly, their territory extended from the 131
Sierra Nevada to the Coast Range, and from the Tehachapi mountains which shut off the San Joaquin basin on the south from the desert, to the Fresno and Chowchilla rivers in the north. The higher Sierras all along this territory, and certain foothill regions in the south, were occupied by Indians belonging to the Shoshonean family. The great level stretch of valley throughout, and in most cases the foothills also, were occupied by the Yokuts. A detached branch of the family, known as the Cholovone, inhabited a small area on the east bank of the San Joaquin, in the vicinity of Stockton, considerably nearer the mouth of this river than the remainder of the stock. The Cholovone are perhaps entirely extinct and are certainly practically so. Their language is unknown except from one published vocabulary, which shows it to have been a Yokuts dialect not very 197*
different from the remainder of the family.

The Yokuts were divided into a large number of groups some- [619]
what resembling small tribes. As is not uncommon in California, each of these groups had a dialect, but, what is unusual in California, each had a distinct tribal name as well. The various dialects are on the whole closely related. Their general structure and their phonetic system are virtually identical. There is also considerable similarity in vocabulary. It is probable that Indians from Kern river and from Fresno river could have conversed,

*197 and that they could have learned to understand each other perfectly in a short time. The greatest divergences in vocabulary were seemingly shown by small groups geographically or otherwise more or less isolated from the others, the speech of the more important tribes through the whole range of territory of the family differing only dialectically. From many tribes vocabularies have never been obtained. For this reason the grouping of the dialects can only be determined approximately. The available evidence on this point is summed up at the end of the paper. For the present it is enough to state that there were two main branches of the family, which include the more divergent dialects peculiar to small groups such as the Paleuyami of Poso Creek. The two branches have been here called the Valley division and the Foot-hill division, from the fact that the former includes ●[101] nearly all the valley tribes while the latter consists principally of the hill tribes on Tule river, Kaweah river, Kings river, and Dry creek.

The differences between the vocabularies of the many dialects consist both of phonetic variations of words and of radical differences. Prominent among the variations are vocalic mutations. These seem to be similar to a scheme of vowel changes which constitutes one of the most important means in the language of expressing structure. The radical differences in words between dialects that on the whole are closely related are sometimes surprising, occurring frequently in the most common words, such as man, woman, person, house, stone, eat, and sleep. A similar tendency toward as marked a prevalence of radical as of phonetic differences exists in the dialects of other linguistic stocks [768 in California. At least one cause of this feature is certainly the 551] universal tabu of the names of the dead; but it is scarcely possible that this cause alone is sufficient to explain the extent of the phenomenon. Among the Yokuts the people speaking one dialect generally understand and often know the radically different words of other dialects though they do not use them.

101 193 We owe the name Yokuts to Stephen Powers. It is the word denoting person or people in the majority of the dialects of this linguistic family, but in the usage of the Indians its application is not confined to individuals of their own linguistic family.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

For this family there is, as might be expected, no native name. 101
The exact form of the word is usually yokote, sometimes yokots. 193
Yokoch would therefore be the most accurate general orthography, provided the vowels were given the quality of continental open o and spoken short with the accent on the first syllable. Yokut is of course only a false English singular.

As to the name Mariposan, it is sufficient to say that its sole 101
claim to acceptance rests on the employment of a rule of priority borrowed from the system of modern biological technical nomenclature, never formally or generally accepted by anthropologists, and as undesirable to attempt to introduce into ethnology as it will be impossible to enforce in the end. It is derived from Mariposa, meaning butterfly in Spanish, the name of a California county which was not organized until after the American settlement. This county may once have contained some Yokuts Indians; but in its present smaller extent it does not cover one square mile of what is known to have been Yokuts territory.

The dialect specially investigated is that of the people calling 101
themselves Yaudanchi, plural Yowechani, who inhabited the foot- 121
hill region of Tule river. By most of their neighbors they are called Yaulanchi. At present they constitute a small fraction of the one hundred and fifty Indians on Tule river reservation, the majority being Yauelmani, a tribe originally farther south.
It has seemed best to avoid confusion by first treating this dialect 121
alone without reference to other dialects in regard to which less complete information was obtained, and then to follow with comparative notes on such material as was obtained from these other dialects, thus avoiding duplication of presentation as much as possible. The first part of this paper, therefore, consists of a discussion of the phonetics and grammar of Yaudanchi, followed by a vocabulary and interlinear texts in the same dialect. In part second are given comparative grammatical notes on the Yauelmani dialect of Kern river. A third part of the paper deals more briefly with various other dialects, and includes a number of short texts, as well as comparisons and summaries. A comparative Yokuts vocabulary, covering all the dialects from which there is material, has been reserved for inclusion in a subsequent publication.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

DIALECTIC DIVISIONS.

As stated at the opening of this paper, the Yokuts dialects 197* were numerous, each small tribe, of which there were about forty, possessing a dialect distinct, in at least some words, from all others. At the same time the differentiation of even the most diverse dialects was not very great. Barring two small specialized groups comprising together not more than three or four dialects, all the dialects were more or less intelligible to one another. Structurally they are very uniform, and even lexically they differ more conspicuously by the use of different stems to express the same idea than by serious modifications of the same stem. Altogether the dialects, including the two specialized groups just mentioned, fall quitely clearly into two divisions, of which the Yaudanchi and Yauelmani that have been described are typical grammatical representatives. These two divisions have been called the Foot-hill and Valley divisions.

The relation of these two divisions to the topography of the 101● Yokuts territory is, when particularly considered, quite striking. As has been stated, the Yokuts occupied the entire southern half 197* of the San Joaquin-Tulare Valley, besides almost all the adja- 657 cent foot-hills. They did not reach high into the mountains, which were held everywhere by Shoshoneans and, in the south, by Chumash. The present Tule river reservation, which is situated on original Yokuts territory, is farther up in the mountains than almost any other habitat of even the Foot-hill tribes, a circumstance due probably to the presence in the Tule river region of a well marked secondary range of the Sierra Nevada, which served as a natural dividing line between the two stocks. Within the Yokuts family the dialectic distinction between the 197* inhabitants of the plains and those of the foot-hills is equally sharp. Not only that adjacent tribes living respectively in the valley and in the hills spoke differently, but, with only two exceptions, all valley tribes everywhere belonged to one division, and all foot-hill tribes to another. These two exceptions were, first, at the extreme northern end of the Yokuts territory, on the San Joaquin and Fresno rivers, where dialects belonging to the Valley division, but forming a well-marked subdivision, were spoken in

*197 the foot-hills as well as on the plains.[1] Second, at the extreme south of the Yokuts territory, two similar and much specialized Foot-hill dialects were spoken about Buena Vista and Kern lakes. While these lakes are in the great Tulare plain, and the tribes inhabiting their shores were separated from the other tribes of the [133] Foot-hill division by the Valley tribes on Kern river and Tulare lake, yet the two lakes are comparatively close to the mountains that shut off the Tulare basin on the south; and, as these mountains, while forming part of the Coast Range, are also connected with the southern Sierra Nevada into one long continuous system swung about in a semi-circle, the habitat of this isolated lake group is not so diverse from that of the remainder of the Foot-hill division as at first appears.

*197 133 In connection with the sharp differentiation of dialects spoken in the valley and in the foot-hills, it is to be observed that almost throughout the Yokuts territory, at least from the San Joaquin southward, the distinction is equally sharp topographically. The foot-hills end abruptly, in some cases quite boldly, at the edge of the plain, and a few yards, sometimes a single step, bring one clearly from one zone into the other. North of the San Joaquin river the physiography is usually quite different, as the foot-hills slope almost imperceptibly into the valley in a long peneplain. This is the character of the country among the northern Yokuts tribes that live in the foot-hills but speak Valley dialects. It is also the character of the country among the Miwok, the stock adjoining the Yokuts on the north, and it appears that in this family, although its range is much higher into the mountains than that of the Yokuts, there is no such marked division into Foot-hill and Valley dialects as exists in the latter.

VALLEY DIVISION.

*197 101 The Valley division consists of two groups, a northern, and a principal one occupying most of the valley proper.

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[1] The Northern group of dialects, while showing some unity and a number of stems peculiar to itself, appears to have consisted of two sub-groups, one comprising the tribes living in the plains, the other those in the hills. The dialects of the plains sub-group were the nearer to those of the southern Valley tribes. Thus even in this Northern group, which on the whole belongs distinctively to the Valley division, the distinction between Valley and Foot-hill dialects is to some degree maintained.

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The Northern group comprised the tribes living directly on the San Joaquin and on the streams to the north, the Fresno and the Chowchilla. From this group material is extant from the Chukchansi, Kechayi, Dumna, and Chauchila dialects. The dialects of the adjacent Dalinchi, Hoyima, Heuchi, Pitkachi, Wakichi, and perhaps Toltichi, also belonged to this group.

The main Valley group extended over the territory from lower Kings river to lower Kern river, that is to say, the land bordering on these streams as well as on the lower courses of Tule and Kaweah rivers and the smaller neighboring streams, as also on Tulare Lake. This was the largest group of Yokuts dialects, and formed linguistically a close unit. It included Yauelmani, Wechikhit, Nutunutu, Tachi, Chunut, Wowolasi, and Choinok, from which there is material, besides Wimilchi, Apiachi, Telamni, Wowowali, Koyeti, Truhohayi, and probably others, all or most of which are extinct.

The Chulamni, or Cholovone, occupying a detached territory in the vicinity of Stockton on the eastern bank of the lower San Joaquin river considerably to the north of all the remaining Yokuts tribes, also spoke a dialect belonging to the Valley division. Its affinities are very markedly with Chauchila, the northernmost dialect of the Valley division, and which, while most closely allied to the Northern dialects in the foot-hills, such as Chukchansi, shows so many special affinities to the main Valley group as to make it nearly a transition between the two.

FOOT-HILL DIVISION.

The Foot-hill division occupied a smaller area than the Valley division, and the number of tribes included in it was smaller. The number of its subdivisions is however greater, and these subdivisions differ considerably more from one another. The Northern and Valley dialects of the Valley division are practically identical in structure and in phonetics, the differences being lexical. Among the four Foot-hill groups, however, there are grammatical and phonetic differences, besides lexical divergences considerably greater than those existing in the Valley division. The four foot-hill groups were spoken respectively on Kings

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+197 river, on Tule and Kaweah rivers, on Poso creek, and at Buena Vista and Kern lakes.

● 101

The Kings River group is the northernmost of the Foot-hill division, and in every way closest to the Valley division. It is, for instance, phonetically entirely similar to the Valley dialects. Structurally it also agrees with the Valley dialects in certain respects, although other features, and these apparently more numerous and distinctive ones, ally it with the adjacent Tule-Kaweah group of the Foot-hill division. Lexically, also, it shows many affinities with both the groups of the Valley division, but the body of its words it has in common with the other Foot-hill groups. The Chukaimina, Michahai, Aiticha, and Choinimni, as well as probably one or two other tribes living on the immediate Kings river drainage, such as the Toikhichi and Kocheyali, from whom no material has been secured, formed this group. The Gashowu of Dry creek, the next stream to the north of Kings river, between it and the San Joaquin, also belonged to this group, although their dialect shows a number of special affinities with the adjacent Northern group.

The Tule-Kaweah group of the Foot-hill division comprised a small number of tribes: the Yaudanchi, Wükchamni, and possibly two or three others, such as the Gawia, Yokod, and Bokninuwad. In this group there appear for the first time the sounds ö and ü and the other impure vowels that have been encountered in Yaudanchi; also ñ, which may have been an original sound of the language lost in the greater number of other dialects; while l is changed to d. Lexically this group is more different than its northern neighbor, the Kings River group, from the Valley division, and the same is true of its grammatical features. Thus, while "his" in all Valley dialects is "amin," it is "imin" in the Kings River group, but "an" in the Tule-Kaweah group. This group is the central one in the Foot-hill division, and linguistically also intermediate between the less specialized Kings River group and the more specialized Poso Creek and Buena Vista Lake groups, and may be regarded as typical of the Foot-hill division. Accordingly Yaudanchi, which belongs to this group, and Yauelmani, which forms part of the principal Valley subdivision, are typically representative, although they are geographically almost in contiguity, of the two main branches of the Yokuts family. 197* 101

A much specialized group of the Foot-hill division comprised the Paleuyami of Poso creek, and possibly one or two neighboring dialects, such as Kumachisi. This small dialectic group does not show the ö and ü and impure vowels of the Tule-Kaweah group, nor has it changed l to d, although it uses ñ. Its greatest divergence is lexical. It possesses many stems peculiar to itself, and where the stems which it uses are those of other dialects, they are usually phonetically altered in Paleuyami, the vowels being particularly modified. The pronouns are as divergent as those of any Yokuts group; the verbal forms resemble those of Yaudanchi. While the distinctness of this dialectic group is considerable, it clearly forms part of the Foot-hill division.

A fourth Foot-hill group, a small body on the plains around Buena Vista and Kern lakes, seems to have consisted of only two tribes, the Tulamni, and another the proper name of which appears to have been entirely forgotten and which is therefore designated by the term Khometwoli, meaning simply southerners, applied to it by its Yauelmani and other neighbors. This small Buena Vista Lake group is lexically still more distinctive than the Poso Creek group, especially in the number of its stems peculiar to itself. Both phonetically and structurally, however, it appears to be about as close to the remaining Foot-hill groups, especially the Tule-Kaweah, as the Poso Creek group. Like the Tule-Kaweah dialects it possesses ö and ü and ñ.

RELATIONS OF DIALECTIC GROUPS.

197*

As can be seen, grammar, lexical content, and phonetics usually present about similar degrees of distinctiveness in these several dialectic groups, so that a natural classification presents no complexities. Such a classification is illustrated in the following three diagrams. The first of these, figure 226, indicates the degree of difference or similarity between dialectic groups by the relative linear distances between the figures representing these groups. This graphic method is of course more or less imperfect while confined to a representation in two dimensions. As

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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DICHOTOMOUS SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

BY

EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

Since 1913 the writer has been engaged in a study of the social organization of the Indians of South Central California. The first product of this study, a report on the exogamous moieties of the Central Sierra Miwok, is now in press. Following the completion of this work, the writer set out to make a preliminary investigation of other tribes to determine the geographic limits of the moiety organization. This preliminary survey, which is to be followed by careful study of each group, has not been entirely completed to date. The following brief statements summarize the data obtained, especially with reference to tribes, which, like the Miwok, are organized on the basis of dual divisions. 121 616

The survey so far shows that the area in which moieties exist extends from Amador County in the north to Kings County in the south. In the southern counties the area extends from the eastern foothills of the Coast Range on the west to the high Sierra Nevada on the east, thus embracing both plains and mountain tribes. In the north moieties have been found only in the Sierra Nevada. 171 616

Aside from the Miwok, the tribes which have been visited are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi of Yokuts stock; and the North Fork Mono, the Inyo Mono, the Bridgeport Mono, the Tübatulabal, and the Kawaiisu of Shoshonean stock. Of these the Chukchansi live in Madera County north of the 101 ● 121

101 121 San Joaquin River, the Gashowu in Fresno County south of the San Joaquin River, and the Tachi in Kings County north of Tulare Lake. Of the Shoshoneans, the North Fork Mono live in Madera County north of the San Joaquin River, adjoining the Chukchansi, but higher in the mountains and more to the east. The Inyo Mono inhabit Owens Valley, Inyo County, east of the Sierra Nevada. The Bridgeport Mono dwell in the vicinity of Bridgeport in Mono County, also east of the Sierra Nevada. The Tübatulabal occupy the Kern River region, and the Kawaiisu, who speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi, inhabit the Tehachapi Mountains.

616 171 The principal facts concerning social organization among the tribes, where positive data were obtained, are as follows.

The tribes exhibiting a moiety organization are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi. The North Fork Mono have, instead of indivisible moieties, two phratries composed of two clans each. The other tribes appear to have no moiety organization.

171 551 Personal names among all of the groups, with the exception of the Bridgeport Mono and possibly the Kawaiisu, are usually meaningless; at least the Indians can give no interpretations for them. Furthermore, names are transmitted, except perhaps among the Chukchansi, a child usually being named after either a living or a dead relative of the father. Frequently when an individual is named after a living relative the name is changed upon the death of the namesake. Miwok names invariably have very full meanings and are not transmitted. A majority of the Bridgeport Mono names also have meanings.

601 171 The kinship systems of the three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) resemble closely in application the Miwok system, which is described in detail in the forthcoming paper on *Miwok moieties. The characteristic features are, first, the* possession of but one term for grandchild, one for grandfather, and one for grandmother; second, the grouping of cross-cousins in two generations, one older and one younger than that of the speaker. On the other hand, the kinship system of the North Fork Mono on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada is quite unlike the Miwok and Yokuts systems. It is almost identical

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

A LACUSTRINE ECONOMY IN CALIFORNIA[1]

RALPH L. BEALS AND JOSEPH A. HESTER, JR.

121 IN ANOTHER PAPER we have proposed a new ecological classification
of the Indians of California.[2] In this paper, we describe in more detail
an example of a lake ecological type. The example is chosen because
it departs widely from the usual conception of the acorn economy of
● 101 the California Indians. The description will center on the Tachi, a
group of southern valley Yokuts, who are the best known of the lake-
based tribes.

131 The southern valley Yokuts, with their neighbors, the Buena Vista
Yokuts, occupy the central and western portion of the San Joaquin
Valley in California. The region is predominately a desert environ-
132 ment approximating the type of the Mohave Desert. The mean July
temperature ranges from 84 degrees in the valley to approximately 78
degrees in the foothills away from the valley, but summer daily max-
ima frequently are above 100 degrees, while mean January temper-
atures are between 40 and 44 degrees. The average annual precipita-
tion for much of the area is less than 5 inches but rises to 10 inches
toward the foothills. Some minor areas may register 15 to even 20
inches in the coast range mountains to the west, although it is not
known that the Yokuts utilized these areas. In the modified Köppen
classification, at least 85 percent of the area has a BWh climate similar
to that of the Mohave Desert. Most of the remainder has hot steppe-

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[1] This paper is the product of a research program on California Indian Ecology conducted at the University of California, Los Angeles by Ralph L. Beals, Director, and Joseph A. Hester, Jr., Associate Director, and a staff of assistants. We are indebted to Dr. Harold Driver, University of Indiana, for suggestions.

[2] "A New Ecological Typology of the California Indians". Paper presented at the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, 1956.

12: Cook NS29 Yokuts NS29

101, 162, 174, 175, 648, 797

[Since this entire source is concerned with triabl identifications, population distributions, historical reconstruction, history, the relations of the Indians with the Spaniards and other white settlers, and the effects of missionary activities upon the aboriginal population, see category 116, the entire source, for such information. --Analyst]

12: Cook 5-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P.31B]

121 Ecologically the great central valley of California
forms a single unit. Nevertheless it is convenient for
133 the purposes of this paper to divide the entire area into
131 two portions, north and south. The vast expanse from
Red Bluff to the Tehachapi is too extensive to cover
demographically in a single exposition. Moreover, the
northern tribes, the Wintun and Maidu, are physiographically clearly segregated from the southern by
the northern extension of San Francisco Bay and the
delta of the rivers. Hence we shall consider here only
those peoples south of the Sacramento and American
River watersheds.

The area possesses definite natural limits but its exact boundaries must be to some extent arbitrary. On the north the line has already been indicated: the soutn bank of the upper Bay and the Sacramento River as far upstream as a point five miles below the city of Sacramento and thence easterly along the El Dorado—Amador County line into the high mountains. This follows Kroeber's tribal boundary between the Maidu and the Sierra Miwok. On the west the line starts northeast of Mt. Diablo and follows the western edge of the San Joaquin Valley to the Tehachapi Mountains. On the east we include the Sierra Nevada as far as was reached by permanent habitation on the west slope. The southern extremity is represented by the crest of the Tehachapi.

133 The region designated embraces the territory of the
Plains and Sierra Miwok, the Yokuts, the Western
●[10] Mono, the Tubatulabal, and the Kawaiisu. From the
standpoint of habitat the area is diversified since it extends from the swampy valley floor through the oak
country of the lower foothills into the transition life-zone of the middle altitudes. Perhaps an ecological
segregation would be desirable. Such a procedure, however, would cut across tribal boundaries and make an
accurate evaluation of population difficult. On the ac-
[128] companying maps, areas are delineated, and numbered,
primarily for convenience of reference. At the same
time they conform as closely as is feasible with the
natural subdivisions of the territory marked out by
river valleys, lakes, plains, and mountains. It should
be stressed that they do not necessarily coincide precisely with the areas occupied by specific tribes or
groups of tribes.

175 The demography of the central valley is rendered
still more complex by the fact that the contact with the
*161 white race took place in a series of steps rather than
by a single overwhelming invasion. In central Mexico,
or to a somewhat lesser degree in northwestern California, aboriginal life continued relatively untouched
until there occurred a rapid and catastrophic occupation
of the entire territory. As a result, the population was

*161 127 which seems to be confirmed by Derby for the Kaweah River also, this means 1,200 persons for the five tribes. Gayton and Latta, however, find 15 names for the Wukchumni, which would indicate a population of 2,250. Such a figure is highly unlikely. It is probable that earlier times are referred to by the informants or that there is confusion among tribal affinities. Alternatively, the Wukchumni villages may have followed the style of the hill-dwelling Mono and have been very much smaller than has been indicated by Derby for the valley-inhabiting Yokuts. Since we cannot resolve the difficulty with the data at hand, it is better to accept the practically unanimous opinion of contemporary white observers that the population below Lemon Cove did not exceed 1,200 in 1851. To these must be added the 600 Mono previously discussed, making a total for the Kaweah River as a whole of 1,800 persons.

*161 If the two river basins are considered jointly, the method of area comparisons as applied to the Mono, estimates by government officials, accounts by early pioneers, and the village lists secured from modern informants all apparently agree that the population of the region reached several thousand as late as 1850 and 1851. We may therefore accept the total of 6,800, or 5,000 on the Kings and 1,800 on the Kaweah.

KINGS-KAWEAH 6,800

THE TULARE LAKE BASIN

● [101] The shores of Tulare Lake (see maps 1 and 2, area 2) were aboriginally inhabited by three tribes, the Tachi, Wowol, and Chunut. In close proximity on the northeast were the Nutunutu, but since the latter have been included with the Kaweah River tribal group, they must be omitted from consideration here. Savage allocated 1,000 Indians to Tulare Lake (Dixon, MS, 1875). McLean said there were 1,000 Indians "on the lakes" in 1853, 500 of which were "Notontos," leaving 500 for the "Taches" and "Tontaches" (Merriam collection). The most reliable account is that of Derby (1852). However, Derby in his terminology confused the Tachi with the Chunut, in which mistake he has been followed by Merriam (under title "Indians of the Tache Lake Region in 1850," MS). Derby makes it clear in his account that he found the village of Sintache (population 100) at the northern side of the then nearly dry Lake Tontache, that is to say on the southern shore of the big Lake Tache (Tulare). These were probably Chunut. There was also a small rancheria which he called Tinte-Tache at the south side of the same lake, i.e., Tontache (population 50). These are likely to have been Wowol. The tribe known to ethnographers as the Tachi were north of the big lake (i.e., Lake Tache or Tulare). Their chief told Derby that they had 800 people and that their principal rancheria was northwest of the lake (population 300). Since Derby also applies the name of Tinte-Tache to the northwest village, it is clear that there were two rancherias of this name included in his account.

Kroeber and Gayton mention a total of 8 villages for the Tachi. If one of these had 300 people, as Derby states, then the average population of the other seven was approximately 70. This agrees with Derby's two southern rancherias of 50 and 100 persons respectively. For the Chunut Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta all mention the village of Chumau. Kroeber mentions one other, *161 Miketsiu. This would indicate a population of nearly 150. For the Wowol the ethnographers give three villages, or an implied population of, say, 220. The total for the lakes would then reach 1,170, or very close to the general contemporary estimate of 1,000. The figure 1,100 may be accepted as a compromise.

TULARE LAKE BASIN 1,100

TULE RIVER, KERN RIVER, AND THE BUENAVISTA BASIN

*161 ●101 131 The remaining Yokuts territory is large in area but relatively small in population. It includes the watersheds of the Tule and Kern rivers together with those of the small creeks between (Deer, White, and Poso creeks) and Buenavista Basin south of Bakersfield (see maps 1 and 2, areas 1F and 1G). The tribes placed by Kroeber in the region are the Koyeti, Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Bankalachi (Shoshonean), Paleuyami, Yauelmani, Hometwoli, Tuhohi, and Tulamni.

*161 G. W. Barbour (1852), in a letter dated July 28, 1851, said that the area bounded by Buenavista Lake, Tule River, and Paint Creek contained a population of about 2,000. Savage (Dixon, MS, 1875) said there were 1,700 on the Kern River and Barbour (1853) stated that, for treaty-making purposes in 1851, 1,700 congregated at Paint Creek below Tule River. The villages listed by Kroeber, Gayton, and Latta for the various tribes are as follows: Bokninuwad 2, Hometwoli 3, Koyeti 8, Kumachisi 6, Paleuyami 7, Tuhohi 1, Tulamni 3, Yaudanchi 8, and Yauelmani 7. The total is 45. The village size indicated by Derby for the Tulare Lake Basin and adjacent valley territory is 60 or 70; that for the hill regions is undoubtedly smaller. If we take 40 persons as the average village population, the aggregate for the region would be 1,800 and if we take 50 persons, it is 2,250. We cannot be far in error in setting the population at Barbour's value, 2,000.

TULE-KERN-BUENAVISTA 2,000

On the basis of gross estimates and semicomprehensive counts for the entire region the population for the San Joaquin Valley and neighboring foothills in 1851 was tentatively set at 8,600 (p. 34). The detailed consideration of the seven subdivisions of the entire region, as above, leads to an estimate of 19,000, as set forth in the following recapitulation.

Stanislaus-Tuolumne	2,000
Merced-Mariposa-Chowchilla	2,500
Cosumnes-Mokelumne-Calaveras	1,000
Fresno-San Joaquin	3,800
Kings-Kaweah	6,800
Tulare Lake Basin	1,100
Tule-Kern-Buenavista	2,000
Total	19,000

It is believed that this total is more reliable than that previously given for several reasons. In the first place, it is derived from a careful consideration of all available sources in detail. In the second place, the preliminary estimate was weighted heavily by the reports of government officials, who saw principally those Indians with whom they were able to make treaties or whom

127 several were translated for Dr. C. H. Merriam. Merriam's translations are on file in his manuscript collec-
114 tion. The citations to these accounts, published and unpublished, are given in the manuscript section of the Bibliography. In this text they are referred to, without further citation, by the author's name and date.

THE TULARE LAKE BASIN

*161 We may commence detailed consideration of the ab-
199 original population with the Tulare Lake Basin, which
● [101] was inhabited in 1800 by three Yokuts tribes, the Wowol, Tachi, and Chunut (see maps 1 and 2, area 2). The first official visitor to the area was Father Juan Martin who entered the valley in 1804 in search of new mission sites. He found the principal village of the Wowol, which he called Bubal. This rancheria, he said, contained not less than 200 children. It was visited again in 1806 by Moraga, who found 400 inhabitants. Eight years later Father Cabot passed the site and found 700 people. Subsequently, it was visited by Ortega in 1815 and Estudillo in 1819 but these writers gave no population figures. Since no other village was ever recorded by name in the territory of the tribe, it is safe to assume that there was no other, at least of permanence and reasonably large size.

Gifford and Schenck (1926), in their discussion of the history of the southern valley, conclude that because the village was reported as having 400 persons in 1806 and 700 in 1814 there was a real increase in population during the intervening eight years. This they ascribe to fugitives from the coastal missions who entered the valley as refugees. The opinion expressed by these authors may serve as the starting point for discussion of certain general problems which are encountered in attempting to estimate the aboriginal population of the valley.

In 1804 Martin saw 200 children. If we knew the ratio of children to adults, we could easily compute the total number of inhabitants. The age of "children" was variously estimated in colonial New Spain, indeed all the way from seven to fifteen years. The early California missionaries used approximately fourteen years for males and twelve for females. In 1793, however, the system was standardized for doctrinal purposes. Indians, both gentile and converted, were designated as children if they were under ten years, i.e., in the age bracket from 0 to 9 inclusive. Hence all the clergy conformed to the method in so far as they were able and unless they specified otherwise.

There are certain data available which permit us to
*161 estimate rather closely what proportion of the popula-
162 tion in California should be regarded as falling within the category of children. Within the missions the annual
192 censuses enable us to compute with accuracy that the individuals under the age of ten years, between the dates 1782 and 1832 averaged 21.4 per cent of the total population (Cook, 1940). This value is relatively high and may not conform to gentile, or aboriginal, conditions. With regard to these we have information from archaeological sources. In the Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley

*161 It was overrun by clerical and military expeditions in 1804, 1812, 1814, 1815, and 1819, not to mention an indefinite number of private raiding parties which have left no trace in the documents. From 1820 to 1850 it was entered repeatedly by ranchers from the coast, American trappers of the Jedediah Smith variety from the southwest or north, and by New Mexican bandits. All these took a toll in the form of mission converts, battle casualties, burnt food stores, and disrupted village life. Finally, it should be remembered that the dry and arid plains of modern Kings, Tulare, and Kern counties bear no resemblance to the former region of [133] rivers, sloughs, swamps, and lakes which once supported uncounted millions of game birds and animals, together with a luxurious vegetation capable of supporting a very dense human population.

TULARE LAKE BASIN 6.500

THE KAWEAH RIVER

131 *161 Together with the Tulare Lake Basin the lower Kaweah River and its delta from Lemon Cove to below the town of Tulare was probably one of the most densely populated spots in California, or possibly even north of the Valley of Mexico (see maps 1 and 3, area 3). The repeated comment of the missionaries with respect to the "infinidad de gentiles" to be found there creates a subjective impression which is borne out by the numerical data we possess.

There seem to have been two rather indistinctly separated divisions of the region. One, centering around ● [101] Visalia and occupying the delta and sloughs, contained three tribes, the Telamni, Wolasi, and Choinok, of which the Telamni were the most important and numerous. The other, centering around Lemon Cove and probably extending some distance into the lower foothills, included the Wukchamni, Gawia, and Yokod, the largest group being the Wukchamni.

*161 Martin entered the delta in 1804 and called the people Telame. Moraga in 1806 explored it more thoroughly. According to the Muñoz diary (Oct. 19-20), the party noted Telame with 600 souls, together with a "big rancheria" one league east and the rancheria Cohochs two and one-half leagues east. In addition there were "otras varias rancherias" in the vicinity. The village list appended to the diary gives Telami I ("tendra segun corto computo 600 almas"), Telame II with 200 souls, Uholasi with 100, Eaguea with 300, and Cohochs with 100. Uholasi is no doubt Wolasi, and Eaguea and Cohochs are probably respectively Gawia and Yokod. If the last two are omitted, it is evident that Moraga saw or knew about four rancherias, Telame I and II, Uholasi, and the unnamed big rancheria. To these must be added the "otras varias rancherias," which may have amounted to another four, or eight in all. A population of 2,000 to 4,000 is certainly indicated.

Cabot in 1814 was the next visitor who left a record. He referred to the "Roblar de Telame Rio," which included Telame, the largest rancheria in the Tulares. Cabot's Telame may well have included both the villages to which this name was ascribed by Morgan. If so, on Moraga's figures it must have contained a minimum of 800 persons. A higher number is more probable, however, in view of the fact that it was the largest in the area.

In 1816 Father Luís Antonio Martinez passed through

*161 between the years 1806 and 1816. We may then apply the correction factor of 2 and get 600 as the most probable number in 1806. Such a value is also consistent with the status of the Choinok as an independent tribal entity of the Kaweah basin, although it does not take into account any reduction in population prior to the expedition of Moraga. There was doubtless such a reduction, but since we have no direct evidence bearing upon the matter it will be better to let the figure 600 stand.

The total for the Kaweah delta group (Telamni, Wolasi, Choinok) is 3,800. This is indeed surprising but the figure perhaps is corroborated by the statement of the Franciscan President for the California missions, Father Payeras—made in support of the establishment of new missions in the valley—that the Telame district alone contained 4,000 unconverted heathen.

● [[101]] The middle Kaweah above Visalia was inhabited by the Gawia, Yokod, and Wukchamni. The Gawia are represented in Moraga's account by Eaguea (300 inhabitants) and the Yokod by Cohochs (100 inhabitants). The Wukchamni were by far the most numerous and for an excellent account of them we are indebted to Estudillo. This officer, in addition to being a competent field commander, appears to have been a scholar and a gentleman. His report on the Wukchamni village of Chischa is unquestionably the most complete and accurate left us by any of the Spanish explorers and as such is worth discussing in detail.

Estudillo was the first white man to see Chischa. On this point he is very explicit:

> . . . su capitan joasps, ni su gente jamas havian visto tropa, siendo esta la primera vez q. havilan llegado alli, pues hace mucho tiempo paso por abajo (este fue D. Gabriel Moraga en el reconocimiento q. hizo en 1806) y solo noticia tubo por sus amigos de Telame . . .

Consequently, allowing for possible communicable disease, Chischa was in its aboriginal state when Estudillo saw it.

*161 361 Chischa was 5 leagues east of Telame and 3 leagues from Choinocko. This places the village, according to the maps of Kroeber and of Gayton, at or just above Lemon Cove in the territory ascribed by these ethnographers to the Wukchamni. Estudillo measured off the dimensions of the village by pacing. The shape was semilunar, crescentic or approximately that of the sector of a circle. The short side ("por su frente") was 624 varas long and the long side ("por la espalda") was 756 varas. A figure plotted on coördinate paper to scale shows that the area was 80,000 square varas. On the assumption that the Spanish vara equaled a yard, and that an average city block measures 300 feet on a side, the village of Chischa would have covered eight city blocks.

*161 Estudillo caused the Indians living in the village to form a line before the town, with the men in a single file and the women and children massed in front of them. He counted the men and found that there were exactly 437 warriors ("jovenes de arma") and "como 600 mugeres y ninos." According to the translation made for Merriam (MS in his collection):

> Then I went opposite where the invited guests were lodged, and as they all, men and women and boys and girls were presented to me in a confused

THE KINGS RIVER

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●101
131 The next region to be considered is the basin of the Kings River. Like the Kaweah, this stream may be divided into three sectors. The first comprises the delta and slough area southwest of Kingsburg and was the home of the Yokuts tribes, Apiachi, Wimilchi, and Nutunutu (area 4A). The second includes the valley margin and foothills, with the tribes Wechihit, Aiticha, Choinimni, Chukamina, Michahai, and Entimbich (area 4B). The third is in the higher foothills and embraces the territory of the Mono groups, Wobunuch and Holkoma (area 4C).

*161 The Kings River sloughs were first described in 1804 by Martin, who mentions the tribe, or rancheria, of Notonto (Nutunutu) but gives no population data. The next visitor was Moraga in 1806. In the diary of the expedition, written by Father Muñoz, no mention is made of Notonto but in the appended "List of rancherias visited in this trip and the one in April" are included Notonto I with 300 persons and Notonto II with 100. Estudillo saw the region in 1819 and said that Notonto (only one village of this name is mentioned) had 303 men "todos gente robusta y de armas." He also saw a few old women and children. Since the men are of the same type ("robust warriors") and were carefully counted in the same way as at Chischa, the same ratio of warriors to total inhabitants may be used. A population of 866 is thus indicated or, in round numbers, 850. Estudillo also says there were four chiefs, one each of [62] the "Notontos," Gumilche, Guchetema, and Tateguy. The Nutunutu are thus clearly segregated from the Wimilchi (Gumilche). The other two names cannot be traced and may indeed have been those of individuals. The "guimilchis," in the meantime, had been seen in 1815 by Pico, who says that they had at least two rancherias.

From the ethnographers we get indication of six villages: of the Apiachi, the village of Wohui (Kroeber, [36] Gayton, Latta); of the Nutunutu, the villages of Chiau (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta), Hibekia (Kroeber), Honotau (Gayton), and Kadeatiu (Latta); of the Wimilchi, the village of Ugona (Kroeber, Gayton, Latta). If these villages actually existed in the early years of the nineteenth century, they can scarcely have held less than 250 persons apiece and the population would have been in the vicinity of 1,500.

From the Spanish accounts we find evidence of at [36] least four villages: originally two (perhaps later one) of the Nutunutu and two of the Wimilchi. One of the latter may have been in fact the principal village of the Apiachi. The Nutunutu, whether as a single village or as a tribe, seem to have amounted to fully 850 persons at the time of Estudillo. Since these groups had been exposed to expeditions beginning in 1804, it is very probable that they had undergone considerable attrition before they were observed by Estudillo. This point of view is supported by Estudillo's remark that he requested the warriors of Notonto to meet him without their weapons because this rancheria "es la mas velicosa y terrible de los Tulares." Hence it is quite probable that the aboriginal population reached 1,200. A value of 500 may be assigned arbitrarily to the other villages or tribes, for Estudillo mentions three chiefs apart from the Notontos and Pico says that the Wimilchi had at least two rancherias. The probable aboriginal population for the entire area is therefore 1,700.

By the year 1850 the tribes of the Kings River delta were represented, according to the account of G. H.

177 village life completely—as is suggested by the fact that
the rancheria was "divided" when the horses arrived. In
*161 order to catch the horses for food other horses were
262 essential for rapid transportation to and from the coastal
settlements. New arts and skills had to be learned, and
new categories of labor had to be evolved.

Rodriguez found among the Hoyima as a whole 87 to
107 live horses (27 captured, 60-80 in the wilderness),
which were presumably about to be killed and eaten,
together with 100 animals already slaughtered. The
total thus reached approximately 200. The question now
is pertinent: how much food can be obtained from 200
horses? If we assume that each of these relatively light
range animals weighed 800 pounds, we may deduct about
25 per cent to account for bones, hide, certain of the
viscera, and other inedible parts, leaving 600 pounds
which the Indians could and did consume. The aggregate
is 120,000 pounds of meat. If this meat was dried and
[251] preserved, according to general practice, it was suffi-
cient to supply 329 persons the equivalent of one pound
of fresh meat per day for one calendar year. If it had
to be consumed immediately or within a few days, and
if every man, woman, and child ate 20 pounds apiece,
it was adequate for 6,000 people. If the entire tribe, not
merely one rancheria, divided the meat into equal shares,
and if the tribe numbered 1,000 persons, then the share
of each individual amounted to 120 pounds. Whether these
figures are strictly accurate is irrelevant. They merely
emphasize that a quite sizable group must have been
concerned. We may therefore regard the Hoyima as being
as large a tribe as the Pitcache, and estimate that the
population was at least 1,000.

The remaining two tribes in the valley proper, as
*161 listed by Kroeber and others, were the Heuchi and the
● [101] Chauchila. They occupied the north bank of the Fresno
River and the distributaries of the Chowchilla River.
[131] The ethnographic data include no more than one or two
villages for each tribe. The Heuchi are referred to by
Rodriguez, who says that the rancheria of the "Jeuche"
was completely deserted. However, since it was the
principal tribal village, it must have contained at least
200 persons. The Chauchila were also noticed by Rodri-
guez, who says that at "Chausila" he "captured" 142
people and "killed many." If we concede that as many
escaped as were captured or killed, there must have
been fully 400 in all.

101 The Nupchenches, although they are merely mentioned
as a possible tribe by Kroeber (Handbook, p. 485) and
131 are doubtfully recorded by Schenck (1926), occupied an
important position in the early nineteenth century. In-
*161 deed, the failure of Kroeber and Schenck to consider
them seriously makes it necessary to set forth in some
detail the information about them contained in the Span-
ish reports.

These natives were distributed along the San Joaquin
River from its big bend near Mendota to approximately
the mouth of the Merced (see map 4, area 5A). The first
mention of them is by Moraga in the diary of 1806. He
found two rancherias, Nupchenche with 250 people and
Cutucho with 400 souls which was "junto a la primera
llamada Nupchenche." This means that Cutucho was close
to but at that time not necessarily part of Nupchenche.
[361] From the description in the diary Nupchenche was situ-
ated at or near the mouth of Santa Rita Slough in T9S,
R12E, and this is almost exactly where Schenck places
it on his map (Schenck, 1926, p. 133). The next visitor
who left a record was José Dolores Pico in 1815. On
*161 November 7 he left San Luis Gonzaga in western Merced
County (in approximately T10S, R8E) and went east to the

[P.68A]

*161 Muñoz. In his diary of the Moraga expedition he tells how, on October 1, 1806, the party left the Merced River and proceeded northwest for 7 to 8 leagues, reaching finally a river which they called the Dolores (i.e., the Tuolumne, probably near Modesto). There were no Indians, but signs of "varias rancherias," the inhabitants having all absconded. On October 2 they went northwest again and at 4 leagues, in the middle of a very large oak park, they came upon another river, which they called the Guadelupe. This could only have been the Stanislaus, probably somewhere east of Ripon. On the next day, October 3, they went up this river, and at the end of 5 leagues reached a rancheria called Taulamne. It was situated in "unos empinados voladeros e inacesibles por unas encrespadas rocas." They could not get at the Indians but estimated the population as 200, on the basis of the people they could discern. This village, be it noted, was situated among "steep cliffs, [361] inaccessible because of certain rough rocks"—not on an inaccessible rock in the river. This spot, judging by both the distances and the description, was along the limestone bluffs which steeply border the south bank of the Stanislaus for several miles opposite Knights Ferry. The Indians said that there were six other rancherias upstream. From this point the expedition moved the next day again northwest toward the Calaveras River. We gather little concerning tribal names from Moraga's account but we learn that there was a considerable population along the Stanislaus which demonstrated sharp defiance to the Spanish invaders.

*161 In the later documents there is little if any reference to the Taulamnes but much discussion of the Lakisamni. 648 There are repeated allusions to this group as being very hostile, bad raiders, and the object of several military campaigns, particularly those against the great Indian rebel chief, Estanislao. The fighting was undoubtedly on the Stanislaus River and the Indian protagonists were frequently allied with the Cosumnes and Mokelumnes. From the context of the documents they would seem to have been as numerous, or at least as bellicose, as either of these two tribes.

José Sanchez in 1826 refers to his bitter battle with Estanislao, which took place on the "rio de los Laquisimes" (MS, 1826). Joaquin Piña describes a military expedition under Guadelupe Vallejo in 1829 (MS, 1829). The objective was two "rancherias," one of the Laquisimes and the other of the Tagualames, on the "Rio de los Laquisimes," or the "Rio Pescadero." The campaign was inconclusive since nearly all of the Indians escaped.

*161 From the citations above it appears probable that the [101] Taulamnes and the Lakisamne were two distinct tribal groups and that their home was on both the Tuolumne and Stanislaus rivers. It is also likely that in the turmoil and confusion of the period between 1800 and 1830 the original spacing and distribution of the tribes became irreparably lost and that the surviving fragments of both amalgamated and reconstituted themselves with reference to their Spanish enemies rather than with reference to their aboriginal social organization. Hence they may have come to be concentrated more on the Stanislaus than on the Tuolumne.

The only direct population estimate we have for them is that of Muñoz, who claimed 200 persons for the village of Taulamne, among the cliffs. Assuming that 50 persons were not seen, the village would have had 250 inhabitants, which is more or less standard for the general area, according to Moraga's account. If the other six villages had an equal population, the total would have been 1,500. But this estimate does not include the

12: Cook
101, 102, 131

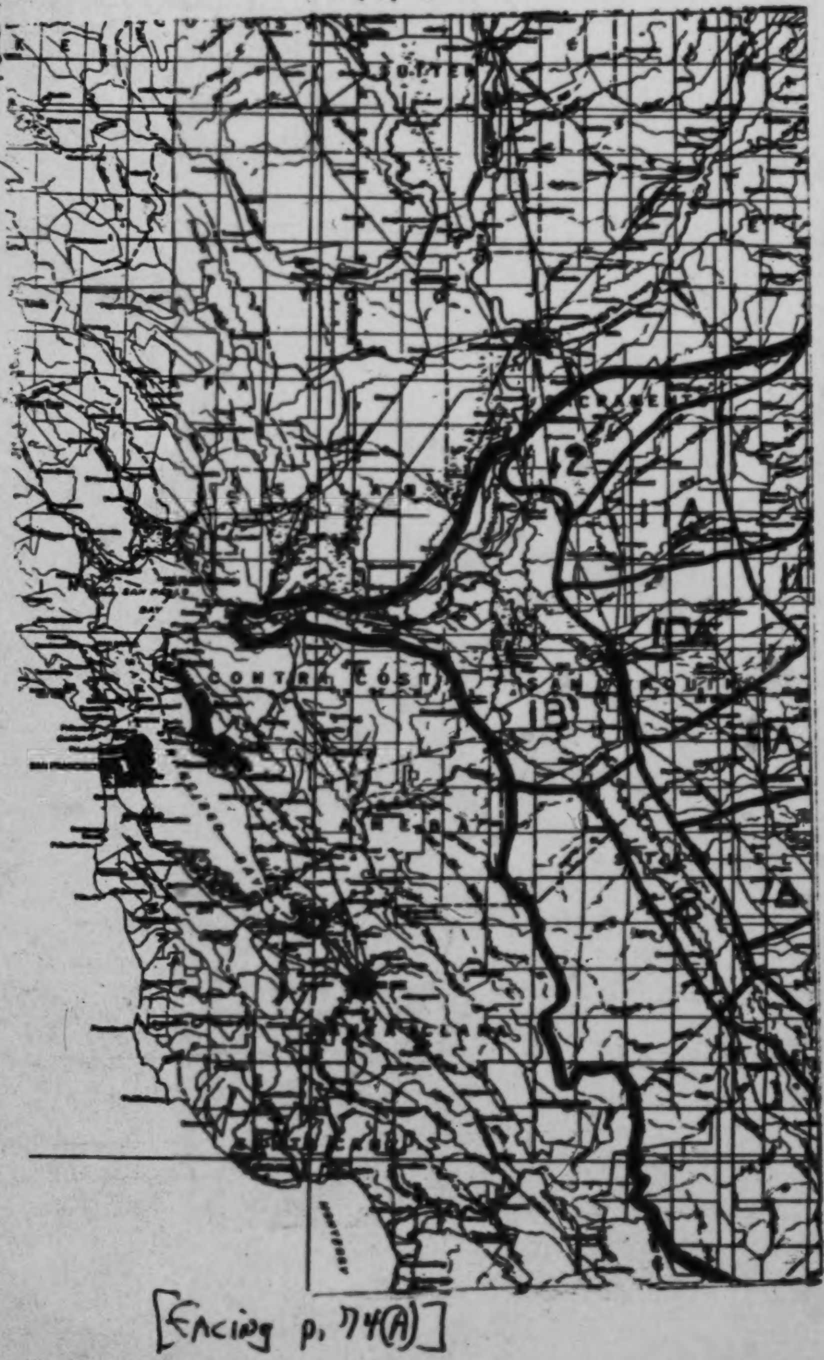
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Sec. A	Sec. B	Sec. C
Sec. D	Sec. E	Sec. F

Chart of Positions of Map Facing p. 74.

Map 1

101
102
131

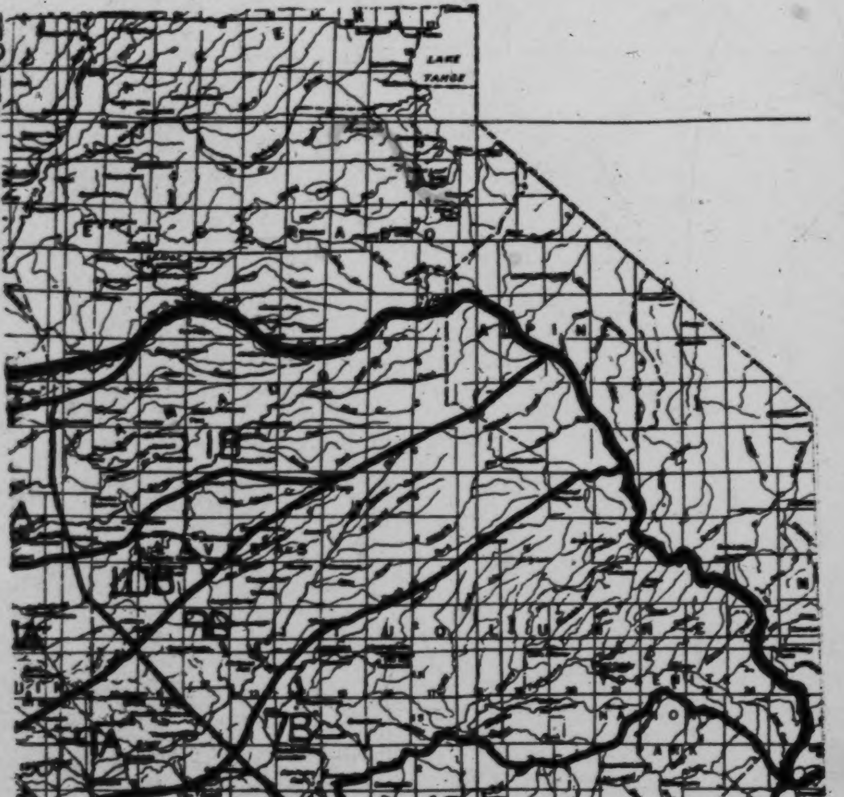

SUTTER
CONTRA COSTA
ALAMEDA
12
12A
13
11A

[Facing p. 74(A)]

Map 1

● 101
102
131

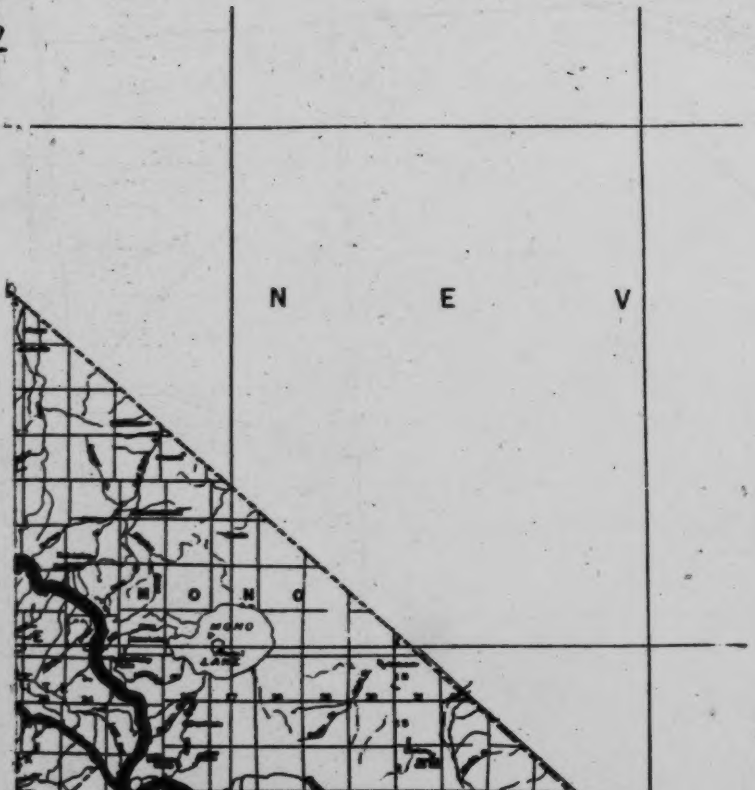
✓


LAKE TAHOE
1B
10B
9B
7B
6B
7A
5E
5D
5C

[Facing p. 174(B)]

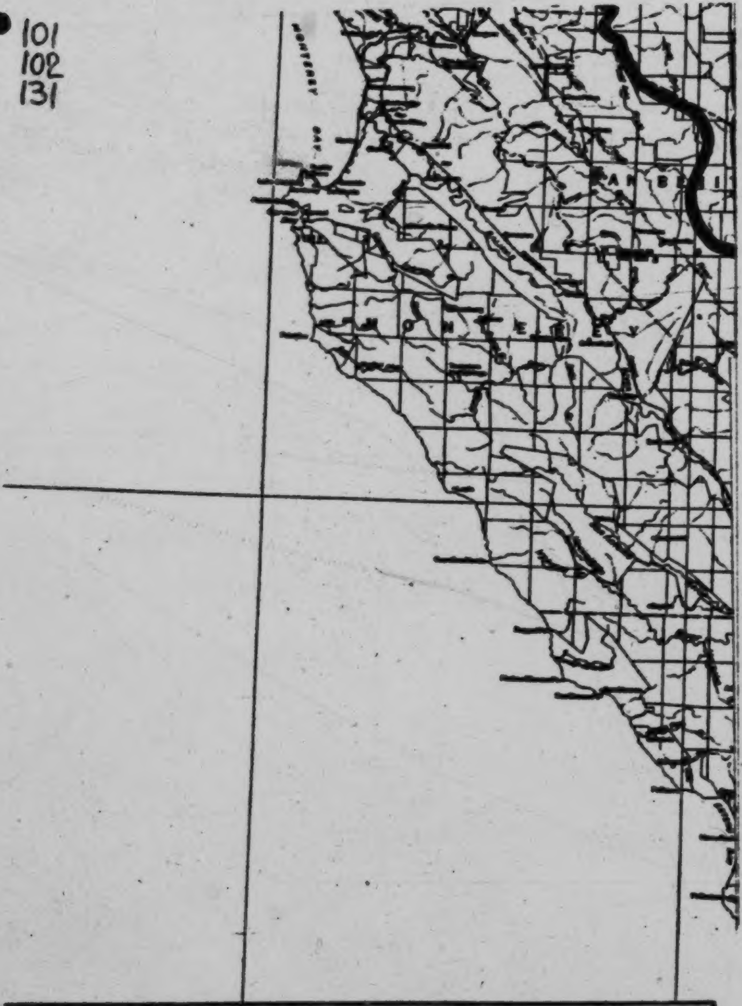
Map I

● 101
102
131


N E V
MONO
MONO LAKE
4C

[facing p. 74(C)]

● 101
102
131



Map 1. This map covers the entire area under discussion, extending from the Cosumnes River to the Tehachapi. The smaller divisions, denoted by numbers and letters, represent the habitat areas considered in detail in the text. The succeeding maps, drawn to larger scale, show these same areas with the tribal divisions entered as far as possible.

0 5 10 20 30

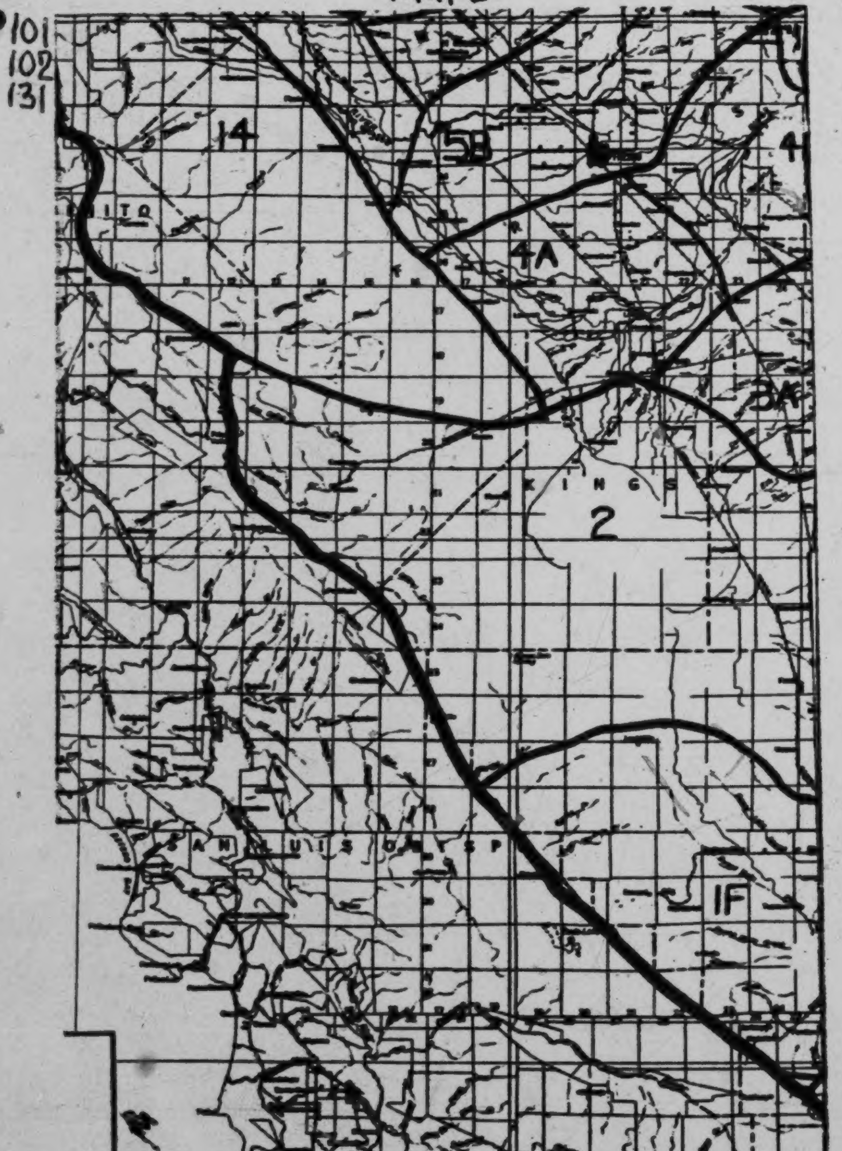
MILES

To accompany Cook, "Aboriginal Population of San Joaquin Valley," Univ. of Calif. Publ., Anthro. Rec. Vol. 16, No. 2.

[Facing p. 74(D)]

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map 1

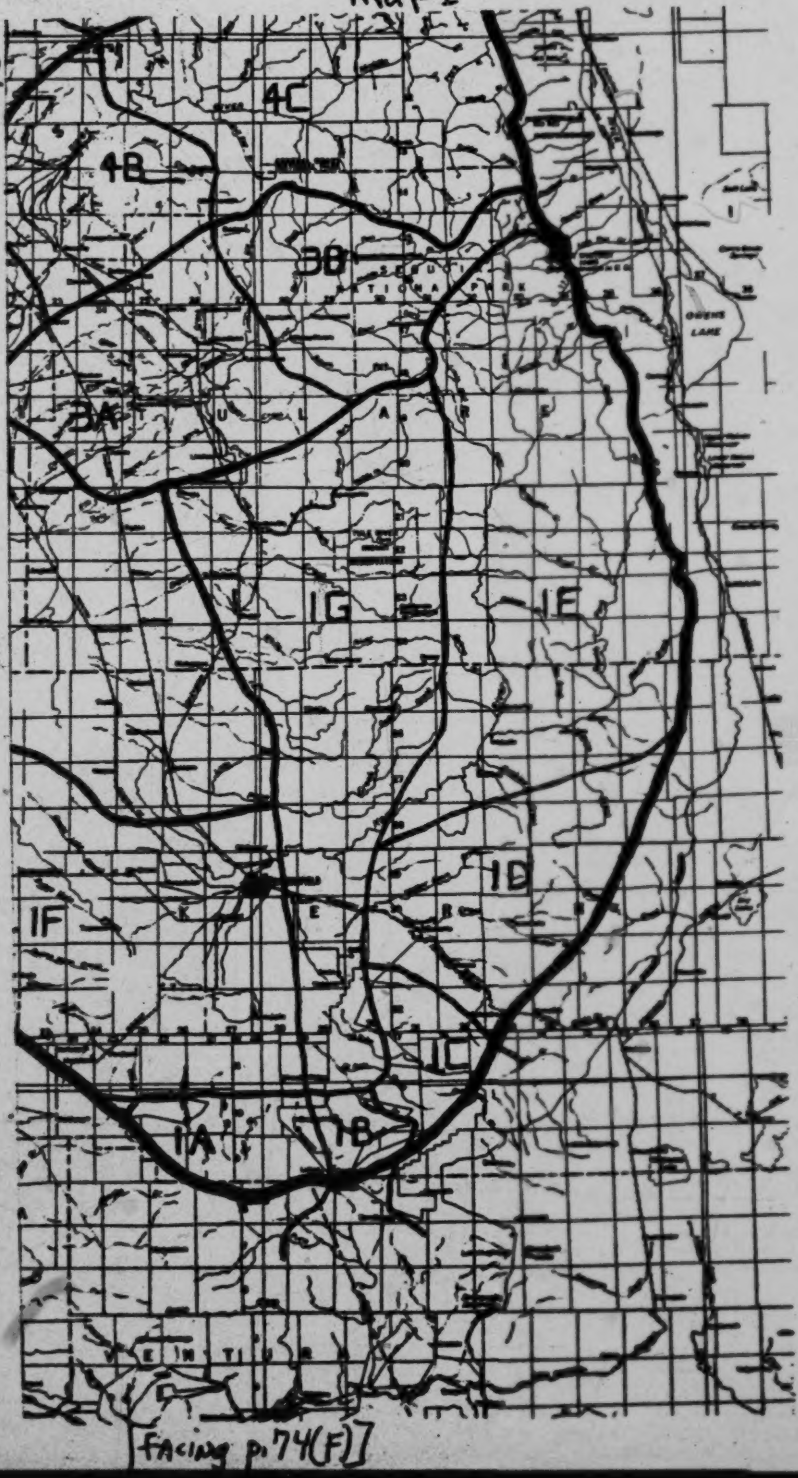

101
102
131
14
5B
4
4A
3A
BENITO
KINGS
2
SAN LUIS OBISPO
1F
SANTA BARBARA

[Facing p. 74(E)]

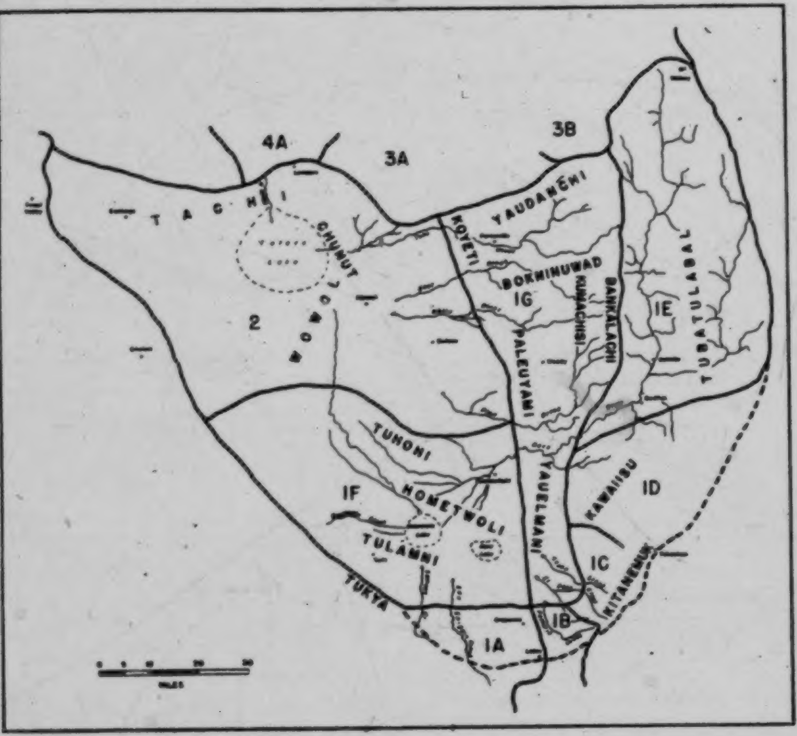
12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Map 1

● 101
102
131


4C
4B
3B
SEQUOIA NATIONAL PARK
3A
TULARE
1G
1E
OWENS LAKE
1D
1F
KERN
1C
1A
1B
VENTURA

[facing p. 74(F)]


4A
3A
3B
TACHI
CHUNUT
WOWOL
2
YAUDANCHI
KOYETI
BOKNINUWAD
IG
KUMACHISI
BANKALACHI
PALEUYAMI
IE
TUBATULABAL
TUHONI
IF
HOMETWOLI
TULAMNI
TUKYA
YAUELMANI
KAWAIISU
ID
IC
IB
IA
KITANEMUK
MILES

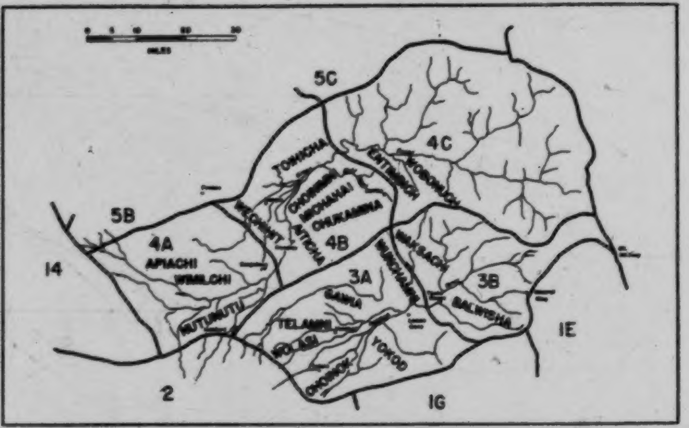
Map 2. Habitat areas 1A-2: the southern Yokuts and peripheral tribes.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Miwok NS16
Western Mono NS25

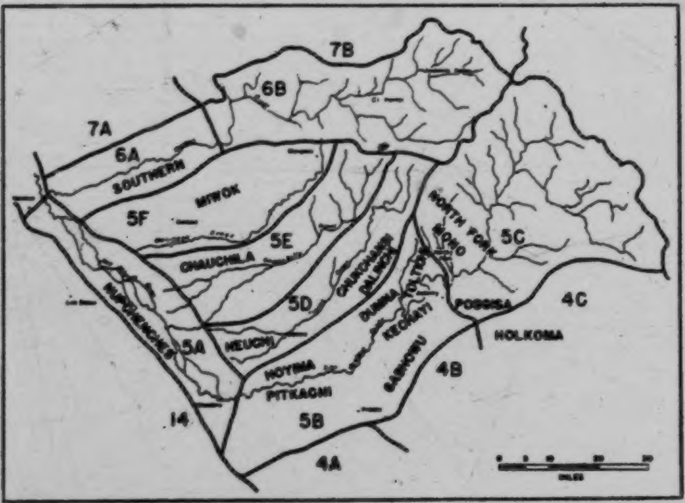
[P.76]

W
M
Y
101
133



0 5 10 20 30
MILES
5C
4C
TOHICHA
CHOINIMNI
MICHAHAI
CHUKAIMINA
ENTIMBICH
WOBONUCH
AITICHA
WECHIHIT
4B
5B
4A
APIACHI
WIMILCHI
14
NUTUNUTU
3A
GAWIA
TELAMNI
WO'LASI
CHOINOK
YOKOD
WUKCHUMNI
WAKSACHI
3B
BALWISHA
1E
2
1G

Map 3. Habitat areas 3A-4C: the basins of the Kaweah and Kings rivers, including the Yokuts and part of the Mono.



7B
6B
7A
6A
SOUTHERN
MIWOK
5F
5E
CHAUCHILA
5D
CHUKCHANSI
DALINCHI
DUMNA
TOLTECHI
KECHAYI
NORTH FORK
MONO
5C
POSGISA
4C
HOLKOMA
NUPCHINCHE
5A
HEUCHI
HOYIMA
PITKACHI
GASHOWU
4B
14
5B
4A
0 5 10 20 30
MILES

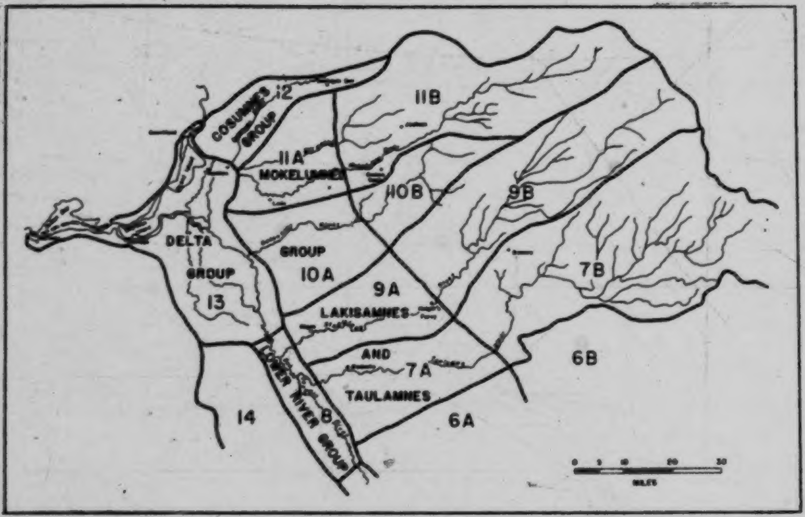
Map 4. Habitat areas 5A-6B: the Yokuts, part of the Mono, and the Southern Miwok.

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Miwok NS16

[P. 77]

● Y
M
● 10
133


COSUMNES GROUP
12
11B
11A
MOKELUMNE
10B
9B
DELTA
GROUP
GROUP
13
10A
9A
7B
LAKISAMNES
AND
7A
TAULAMNES
6B
14
8
LOWER RIVER GROUP
6A
0 5 10 20 30
MILES

Map 5. Habitat areas 7A-14: the Northern Yokuts, Central and Northern Miwok.

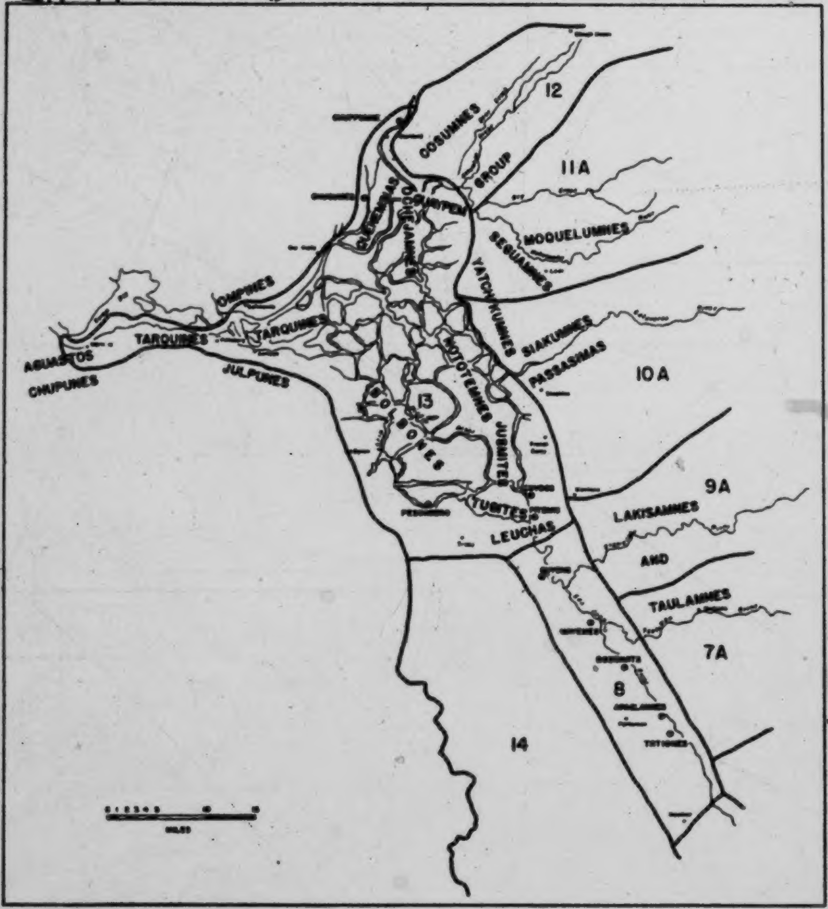
12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Miwok NS16

[P.78]

[pp. 79-80 blank]

Y
M
101
133


12
COSUMNES GROUP
11A
MOQUELUMNES
SEGUAMNES
QUENEMSIAS
OCHEJAMNES
CHIRIPEN
YATCHUMNES
OMPINES
TARQUINES
TARQUINES
AGUASTOS
CHUPUNES
JULPUNES
SIAKUMNES
PASSASIMAS
10A
NOTOTEMNES
13
BOLBONES
JUMMITES
11
TUMITES
LEUCHAS
9A
LAKISAMNES AND TAULAMNES
7A
8
14
MILES

Map 6. The Lower San Joaquin River and Delta areas (particularly areas 8 and 13).

TACHI YOKUTS MUSIC

James Hatch

The bulk of the music to which this paper is devoted was recorded at 121
three different dates by different observers. The first recordings were
made by Professor A. L. Kroeber before 1904 on gramophone cylinders at the 126
Lemoore Santa Rosa Yokuts reservation. The second series was made by a schoolteacher, Mrs. Margaret Cummin of Hanford, on disks at Hanford in the summer of 1940. The last and largest series was made by the writer in the latter part of 1957, also at Lemoore.

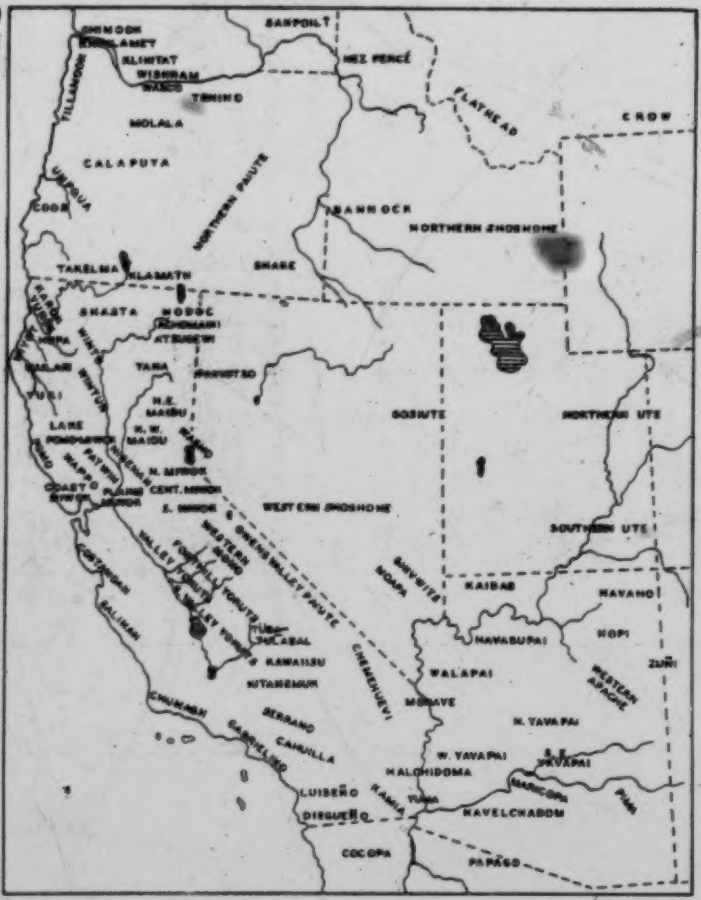
A number of points were to be covered in the selection of this parti- 121
cular group for study. First, the cylinder recordings which Professor Kroeber made in 1903 were Tachi rather than any of a number of other Yokuts groups. This added another dimension to the comparison of the stylistic features of the Yokuts music to the rest of California Indian music. The point was to find out if the music of this San Joaquin Valley group was stylistically more akin to that of northern California groups, such as the tribes of the Sacramento River Valley or to, say, that of coastal groups. Two contrasting styles were used for comparison, primarily because of their distinctive qualities and also because of their relative proximity.

The other main point concerned the writing of the music. A number of writers have referred to the possibility that variation in music might be structured, or rather, that there is an implicit "direction" to music and that variations can be plotted in a scheme similar to phonetics. That is, in any given musical pattern one might have a certain amount of variability and that variability might or might not be significant to the native. This proposition is almost self-evident; different singers can vary the features of any popular song so that the song will be either "better", "worse" or just "different". The changes which are not recognized as changes are also significant here. The problem is whether or not selection can be rigorous and still not alter the basic framework of the music.

The Tachi Yokuts were distributed over an area roughly north of 101
Tulare Lake west to the Mount Diablo section of the coast range. They were [131]
a large and warlike group, possibly reaching a population of 500. The [161]
Yokuts language is classified with Miwok, Maidu, Wintun, and Costanoan as [197]
part of the Penutian superstock. Further ethnographic material on the Yokuts can be found in Kroeber (1907) and Gayton (1948).

The remnants of the Tachi spend a large part of the year on the Santa 105
Rosa reservation near Lemoore. The number of families is constantly fluctuating and the population ranges from two or three dozen families to only two or three, depending upon the season. The housing consists of about three dozen shacks in extremely poor repair. The reservation is located on an alkali flat unsuitable for either agriculture or animal husbandry. The Tachis work at a variety of jobs. No one from the reservation has been known

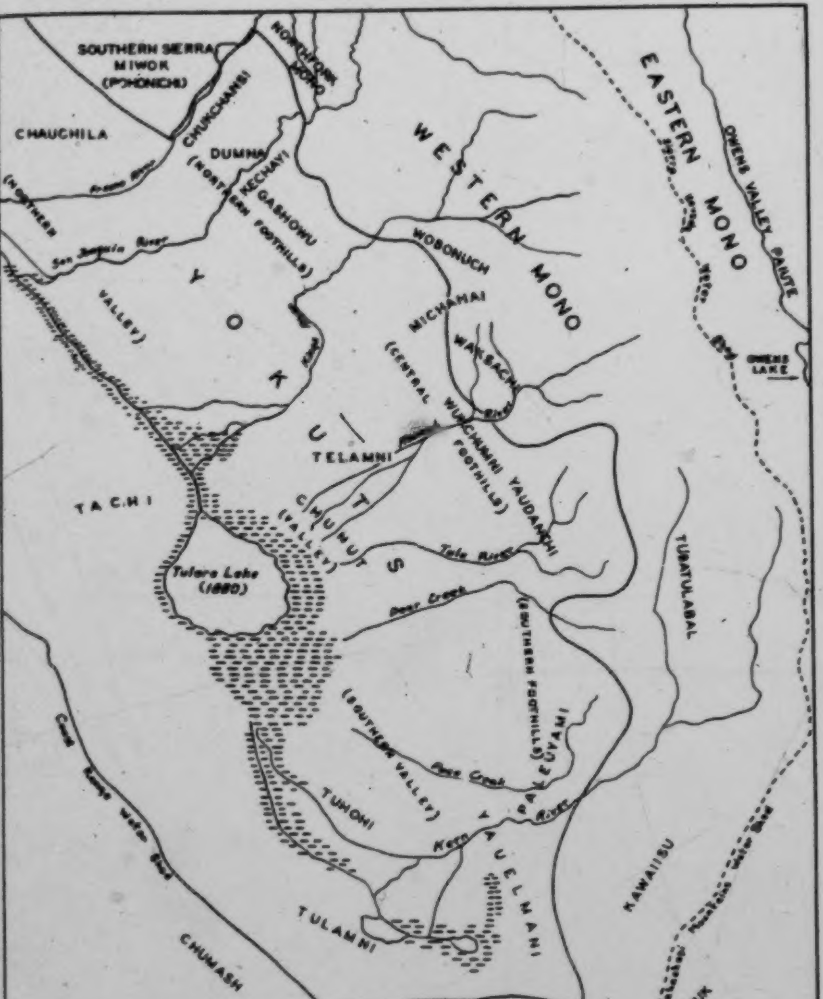
101
102
131


SANPOIL
NEZ PERCÉ
CHINOOK
KLIKITAT
WISHRAM
WASCO
TENINO
TILLAMOOK
MOLALA
CALAPUYA
UMPQUA
COOS
NORTHERN PAIUTE
FLATHEAD
CROW
BANNOCK
NORTHERN SHOSHONE
SNAKE
TAKELMA
KLAMATH
SHASTA
MODOC
ACHOMAWI
ATSUGEWI
HUPA
WINTU
YANA
WINTUN
YUKI
N.E. MAIDU
N.W. MAIDU
LAKE
POMO
WAPPO
PATWIN
COAST MIWOK
PLAINS MIWOK
N. MIWOK
CENT. MIWOK
S. MIWOK
GOSIUTE
NORTHERN UTE
WESTERN SHOSHONE
SOUTHERN UTE
WESTERN MONO
OWENS VALLEY PAIUTE
VALLEY YOKUTS
FOOTHILL YOKUTS
COSTANOAN
SALINAN
SHIVWITS
MOAPA
KAIBAB
NAVAHO
HOPI
ZUÑI
HAVASUPAI
WALAPAI
TÜBATULABAL
KAWAIISU
KITANEMUK
CHEMEHUEVI
MOHAVE
WESTERN APACHE
N. YAVAPAI
CHUMASH
SERRANO
GABRIELINO
CAHUILLA
W. YAVAPAI
S.E. YAVAPAI
HALCHIDOMA
MARICOPA
PIMA
LUISEÑO
KAMIA
YUMA
DIEGUEÑO
HAVELCHADOM
COCOPA
PAPAGO

Map I. Tribes of California and adjacent territory.

[p. 12]

101
102
131
133


SOUTHERN SIERRA MIWOK (P?HONCHI)
CHAUCHILA
CHUKCHANSI
NORTHFORK MONO
DUMNA
KECHAYI
(NORTHERN FOOTHILLS)
GASHOWU
(NORTHERN VALLEY)
Fresno River
San Joaquin River
Kings River
Y O K U T S
WESTERN MONO
EASTERN MONO
OWENS VALLEY PAIUTE
Sierra Nevada Water Shed
OWENS LAKE
WOBONUCH
MICHAHAI
WAKSACHI
Kaweah River
(CENTRAL FOOTHILLS)
WUKCHUMNI
YAUDANCHI
TELAMNI
TACHI
CHUNUT
(VALLEY)
Tulare Lake (1880)
Tule River
Deer Creek
(SOUTHERN FOOTHILLS)
TUBATULABAL
(SOUTHERN VALLEY)
Poso Creek
PALEUYAMI
TUHOHI
Kern River
YAUELMANI
TULAMNI
Coast Range Water Shed
CHUMASH
KAWAIISU
KITANEMUK
Tehachapi Mountains Water Shed

Map 2. Yokuts and Western Mono tribes.

[p. 13]